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A Critical Edition of Georg Philipp Telemann's

Missa sopra Christ lag in Todesbanden (TWV 9:3)

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A Critical Edition of Georg Philipp Telemann's *Missa sopra Christ lag in Todesbanden* (TWV 9:3)

by

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Treatise

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Dedication

This work is lovingly dedicated to my wife, Tricia. Thank you for your understanding and enduring many hours of an absentee husband. Though I began this journey without you, I couldn't have completed it without your encouragement and support. Thank you for helping me to finish strong.

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Supervisors: James Morrow and Andrew Dell'Antonio

The purpose of the treatise is to provide a modern edition of one of Telemann's "Lutheran masses" and a discussion of the work in its historical, stylistic, and liturgical context. In his lifetime, Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) was one of Germany's, if not Europe's, most famous and most prolific composers. Though many of Telemann's works were published by him, many are today assumed lost or remain unknown. Presented here is a performing edition of one of Telemann's *missae breves* based on the Lutheran chorale melody C*hrist lag in Todesbanden*. This setting is one of five in a manuscript collection in the library of the *Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel* (Royal Conservatory, Brussels). Chapter One presents a survey of Telemann's life and career, church music, and historical reception, both in his day and to the present. Because this mass setting resulted from the reform movement of Martin Luther, Chapter Two addresses the role of the mass in the Lutheran liturgy. Included in this chapter is a discussion of some of the elements Luther retained from the Roman liturgy and some of those elements which he discarded or changed, namely those elements which relate to the use of music in the liturgy. Unlike his fellow reformers Jean Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli, Luther was a lover of music and gave a prominent position to music in his new liturgy. Chapter Three focuses on the importance of music in the Lutheran liturgy, especially the

significance of the chorale. Chapter Four presents the chorale melody and the manner in which Telemann employed it in this mass setting. There is also a discussion of performance considerations and suggestions. The score of the edition is included as Appendix A.

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Chapter One: Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767)

Life and Career

Georg Philipp Telemann was born March 14, 1681 in Magdeburg, Germany. Much of the information known about his life is contained in his three autobiographies, all of which were written during the middle third of his career. Telemann was asked by Johann Mattheson and Johann Walther to supply his autobiographical information on three different occasions.[1] The first, dated September 10, 1718, was published in Johann Mattheson's *Grosse General-Bass-Schule* in 1731. The second takes the form of a short letter dated December 20, 1729, written to Johann Walther for inclusion in Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1732. The third, and most comprehensive, dates from some time in 1740, and appeared in Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740). A biography published in both German and French in about 1744 relied greatly on Mattheson's *Ehren-Pforte*, but also contains additional information that may have been provided by Telemann himself. The last twenty-eight years of his life remain unrecorded.[2]

His ancestors were what would today be considered upper middle-class. Most had received a university education and many had entered the work of the church. There had not been a professional musician in the family since the late 16th century, when

[1] Patrizia Metzler, "Aria Forms and Chorus Textures in Bach's Early Cantatas: the Influences of Neumeister, Telemann, and Rosenmüller" (DMA diss., University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2007), 76.

[2] Richard Petzoldt, *George Philipp Telemann*. Translated by Horace Fitzpatrick (London: Ernest Benn, 1974), 3.

Telemann's paternal great-grandfather, Heinrich Thering, served as Kantor at Halberstadt. Although Telemann regarded his musical bent as a legacy from his mother,[3] the only professional musicians in her family were her nephew Joachim Friedrich Haltmeier (1668–1720), Kantor at Verden, and his son Carl Johann Friedrich, organist in Hanover and author of a treatise on thoroughbass published by Telemann in 1737.

After Telemann's father died in 1685 his mother overtook the supervision of the education of her two sons. The elder, Heinrich Matthias (1672–1746), studied theology and became a clergyman. The younger, Georg Philipp, studied in Magdeburg at the *Altstädtisches Gymnasium* and at the *Domschule*, where he was taught the catechism, Latin and Greek, and began his lifelong interest in German poetry. In Magdeburg he found many opportunities to listen to good music and take part in musical activities.[4] He began singing lessons at the age of ten with the Kantor, Benedikt Christiani, "the very model of a musician who had gained most of what he knew through his own efforts and iron-willed tenacity."[5] In a similar manner, Telemann emphasized in his autobiography of 1729 that he was an autodidact, with only two weeks of formal instruction on the clavier.[6] Though his formal training lasted but two weeks, he taught himself the recorder, violin and zither. Transcribing the scores of Christiani and other composers, he learned the

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[3] Ibid., 6.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 8.

[6] Tanya Kevorkian, "Changing Times, Changing Music: 'New Church' Music and Musicians in Leipzig, 1699-1750," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists,* ed. William F. Weber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 73.

principles of composition and was consequently inspired to write arias, motets, and instrumental pieces. At the age of twelve, he composed his first opera *Sigismundus*, to a libretto by C.H. Postel.

Fearing that his musical instincts and proclivity would lead to a career in music, his mother prohibited him from further participation in music and appropriated his musical instruments. Despite her prohibition, Telemann furtively continued composing and, at night or in secluded places, playing on instruments he borrowed. Hoping a new environment would steer him toward a more respectable and profitable career, in late 1693 or early 1694 his mother sent him to school in Zellerfeld. Here his education was overseen by the superintendent Caspar Calvoer, a theologian, historian, mathematician, and writer with an interest in musical theory. Calvoer not only oversaw Telemann's general education but also introduced him to the relationship between mathematics and music. Telemann augmented his formal studies by teaching himself thoroughbass and continuing to compose.

In 1697 Telemann became a scholar in Hildesheim at the *Gymnasium Andreanum*, where the Rektor, J.C. Losius, asked him to provide songs for Latin school dramas. Father Theodor Crispen, the director of Roman Catholic church music, also recognized his musical talent and allowed him to conduct performances of German cantatas in the Catholic church at the monastery of St. Godehard. Telemann was exposed to the latest French, Italian, and theatrical styles as a result of his many visits to the courts at Hanover and Brunswick. In addition, he became familiar with the characteristics of various instruments; along with his previous study of keyboard instruments, violin, and recorder,

he now took up the flute, oboe, chalumeau, viola da gamba, double bass, and bass trombone. In spite of his varied musical activities, Telemann graduated from the *Andreanum* third in a class of 150.

In 1701 Telemann matriculated at the University of Leipzig, where he intended to study law. In his biography of 1718, Telemann states that his decision to study law and abandon music was dictated by his mother. In the biography of 1740, however, he wrote that the motivation was for a university education. Regardless, it was not long before musical activities were again an integral part of his life. After a *Thomaskirche* performance of his setting of Psalm 6, which had been discovered by his roommate, Telemann was commissioned to compose music, alternatively with Kuhnau and much to his annoyance,[7] for the *Thomaskirche* and the *Nikolaikirche*, the city's two main churches. Telemann was apparently responding to an order by the Electoral court to enhance music at the churches in order to impress visitors to the fairs.[8] His focus on law quickly deteriorated as he became involved with composing church music and, later, for his organization of a 40 member student *collegium musicum*,[9] which performed public concerts and provided music for the *Neuekirche*. Kevorkian speculates that Telemann's serious pursuit of music may well have had a rebellious element to it.[10] In 1702 he took

[7] Stanley Godman, "Telemann: A Forgotten Friend of Bach and Handel," *The Musical Times* 91 (April 1950), 135.

[8] Kevorkian, 70.

[9] George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 559.

[10] Kevorkian, 72.

over as musical director of the Leipzig opera house for which he would write many operas, and in 1704 he obtained the joint positions of organist and music director at the *Neuekirche*.[11] He dedicated the church's new organ and performed a *Magnificat* on September 7. Telemann's appointment and musical activities greatly upset Johann Kuhnau, the *Thomaskantor*. As the city director of music, Kuhnau oversaw the music in all the Leipzig churches and controlled the available performing resources. By using students to increase the quality of performances at the *Neuekirche* and the frequency of performances at the *Thomaskirche*, Telemann took away an important resource from Kuhnau's choir. Despite the conflict between the two composers, Telemann recalled having learned much about fugue and counterpoint from studying Kuhnau's music. During this time in Leipzig, long-standing religious performing spaces were expanded and transformed, providing new contexts within which musical life flourished.[12]

Telemann left Leipzig by early June 1705 to become *Kapellmeister* to Count Erdmann II of Promnitz at Sorau, Lower Lusatia (now Żary, in Poland). According to the autobiography of 1740, Telemann had received an invitation from the court in 1704; but it was not until June 1705 that the Leipzig town council noted his resignation from the *Neuekirche*. Count Erdmann had recently returned from travels through Italy and France, where he had developed a taste for French instrumental music. The count's preference for French instrumental music gave Telemann his first incentive to study French style in

[11] Buelow, 560.

[12] Kevorkian, 61.

works of Lully and Campra.[13] That music was especially valued at Sorau is clear from the security of Telemann's position even during two periods of large-scale dismissals of court personnel. Significant for the subsequent development of his compositional style were his travels with the court to Kraków and Pless (now Pszczyna), one of the count's domains in upper Silesia, where Telemann became enthusiastic about Polish and Hanakian (Moravian) folk music.[14] He also met the reform poet Erdmann Neumeister, who held the positions of superintendent and court chaplain.[15]

Though the exact date Telemann entered the service of Duke Johann Wilhelm of Saxe-Eisenach remains uncertain, in December 1708 he was appointed *Konzertmeister* of the musical establishment at the newly formed court. The following August he was appointed Secretary and *Kapellmeister* and charged with performing church cantatas at court, which required him to bring singers to court who could also play violin in an instrumental ensemble.[16] Following the arrival of singers, Telemann composed a considerable quantity of vocal music, including four or five complete annual cycles of church cantatas, two incomplete cycles, numerous masses, psalms, and other sacred works; twenty birthday and nameday serenatas to his own texts; and fifty German and Italian cantatas. Some of this music, however, is likely to have been sent to the court

[13] Buelow, 560.

[14] Ibid.

[15] In 1711, Neumeister stood as godfather to Telemann's first daughter. Ten years later, as pastor of the *Jacobikirche* in Hamburg, he successfully recommended Telemann for a post in that city.

[16] Buelow, 560.

from Frankfurt after 1712. At Eisenach he was especially prolific as a composer of instrumental music.

While at Eisenach, Telemann presumably met J. S. Bach, whose cousin Johann Bernhard Bach was the town organist and court harpsichordist. As a result of their meeting, in 1714 Telemann stood as godfather to C. P. E. Bach. Shortly after being named secretary and *Kapellmeister* of the court in 1709, Telemann returned to Sorau for his wedding on October 13 to Amalie Louise Juliane Eberlin, daughter of the musician Daniel Eberlin. Amalie died fifteen months later after the birth of a daughter. Telemann later claimed that in Eisenach he not only came of age musically but experienced a religious awakening.

In his autobiography Telemann remarked he did not know how he had been persuaded to leave Eisenach, which is perhaps not quite true. By late 1711, he had apparently grown dissatisfied with life at the court, complaining about "his heavy responsibilities at the Eisenach court and the indifference of court members toward music. His disenchantment with court life is also reflected in his turning down a major offer from the music-loving and wealthy Dresden court."[17] Therefore, between late December 1711 and late January 1712, Telemann applied for the position of post of *Kapellmeister* at the *Barfüsserkirche* and as musical director for the city of Frankfurt.

Telemann was installed in his new position in February 1712. His responsibilities included composing and conducting music for both the *Barfüsserkirche* and *Katharinenkirche*, composing for a variety of civic occasions, providing private musical

[17] Ibid.

instruction for six to eight schoolboys of his choosing, and supervising singing instruction in the *Lateinschule*. For the churches, he composed several yearly cycles of cantatas. Free from the requirements of a court position, Telemann also set about to enrich the musical life of Frankfurt. In 1713 he revived the *collegium musicum* of the *Frauenstein* society to present weekly concerts. These performances, later reduced in frequency to every other week, marked the beginning of Frankfurt's regular concert life. Telemann's devotion to public concerts subsequently became a landmark of his career in Hamburg.[18] In April 1716 Telemann performed his setting of the *Brockes-Passion* at public concerts in the *Barfüsserkirche*.

In August 1714, Telemann married the sixteen year old Maria Catharina Textor, the daughter of a Frankfurt city official. The Telemann's had nine children, eight sons and a daughter, none of whom became musicians. The marriage allowed Telemann to become a citizen of Frankfurt, a privilege that he retained in later years by sending church music from Hamburg to Frankfurt every three years until 1757.

In 1715 Telemann began to self-publish his works, releasing four collections of instrumental music over the next three years. A visit to the Eisenach court in September 1716 may have led to his installation as *Kapellmeister von Haus aus* (*in absentia*), a post he retained until 1730. This position required him to compose a cycle of church cantatas every two years, as well as instrumental and occasional music for the *Kapelle*. In 1716 Telemann was offered the vacant post of *Kapellmeister* in Gotha. A cunning business man, Telemann used this offer to acquire an increase in his salary at Frankfurt.

[18] Ibid., 561.

In July 1721 Telemann received an offer from the city-state of Hamburg to serve as *Kantor* of the *Johanneum Lateinschule* and musical director of the city's five main churches. He began his duties as music director in September and was installed at *Kantor* in October of the same year. He was expected to provide two cantatas for each Sunday and a new Passion for Lent. Music was required for induction ceremonies and for church consecrations, and additional cantatas had to be written for the city's numerous civic celebrations. As *Kantor* he was responsible for instructing the schoolboys in singing, theory, and music history four days a week. In addition to these official duties, he once again conducted a *collegium musicum*. In November he began a series of weekly public concerts that operated in the winter season from November or December until February or March. These concerts were so well-received that the 1723-24 series was expanded to two performances each week. In March 1724, the performances were moved to the *Drillhaus* to accommodate increased attendance. In May 1722 he became the director of the Hamburg opera, where he performed his own operas, of which some twenty-nine can be identified but only eight seem to have survived.[19]

Telemann's disputes with the Hamburg city council regarding the printing and selling of his Passion texts most likely led to his decision to apply for the post of *Thomaskantor* in Leipzig following the death of Kuhnau in June 1722. Of six applicants for the position, Telemann was favored by those who wanted a musician known to be more in touch with new styles and secular music activities than Kuhnau and his

[19] Ibid., 562.

predecessors had been.[20] In September, he requested a release from the Hamburg city council. In October, an indirect request to the Hamburg council for an increase in his salary was granted and he declined the Leipzig position. Having solidified his employment in Hamburg, Telemann rejected an offer in 1729 to become *Kapellmeister* to the court in St. Petersburg. Between 1723 and 1726 he was *Kapellmeister von Haus aus* (*in absentia*) to the Bayreuth court, for which he supplied instrumental works and an opera once a year.

In 1725 Telemann again undertook the publishing and marketing of his own music. Over the next fifteen years he produced forty-three publications for which he engraved the plates himself.[21] By 1728 he had agents in Berlin, Leipzig, Jena, Nuremberg, Frankfurt, Amsterdam, and London and, in the years which followed, further expanded a network for the supply and delivery of his works through booksellers and friends. According to Kevorkian, Telemann remained in contact with *Neuekirche* colleagues in part for entrepreneurial reasons.

> Telemann, for example, corresponded with Johann Georg Pisendel, who referred to him affectionately as *Hertz innigstgeliebtester Herr Bruder* (my dearly beloved Sir Brother) into the 1750s. Pisendel and other *collegium musicium* members were among Telemann's far-flung network of musicians who sold his printed music in towns throughout Europe. Several book dealers in Leipzig sold his cantata cycles and other works. Telemann's cultivation

[20] Kevorkian, 74.

[21] For more on Telemann's publishing activities, see Steven Zohn's "Telemann in the Marketplace: The Composer as Self-Publisher." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 58 (Summer 2005): 275–356.

> of this network accounts in part for the fame of his music and its performance in Leipzig and elsewhere.[22]

Although he continued to fulfill his official duties in Hamburg, his musical output fell sharply between 1740 and 1755. Relatively little church music survives from this period apart from the two annual cycles of cantatas published in 1744 and 1748–49. Following the 1755 death of his eldest son Andreas, Telemann assumed responsibility for raising his grandson, Georg Michael (1748–1831). The year 1755 also marks a crossroads in Telemann's career. Inspired by a new generation of German poets, at the age of 74 he returned with new vigor to the composition of sacred oratorios.

As he entered his 80s, Telemann began to complain of weakness in his legs which made walking and standing difficult. Though he continued to compose, his manuscripts reveal that his unsteady hand is often replaced by that of a copyist. In addition, his eyesight was weakening. Although relatively few compositions were completed after 1762, the cantata *Ino* (1765) proves that he was still capable of producing music of great distinction. Telemann died in his apartment of a "chest ailment" on the evening of June 25, 1767. He was buried on June 29 in the *Johannisfriedhof*. While obituaries and eulogies were published in several Hamburg newspapers and journals, the *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten* stated simply that "his name is his eulogy."

[22] Kevorkian, 75.

Church Music

Telemann composed music for the church throughout his lifetime. Just as he was prolific as a composer, he wrote in a number of forms for the church. In the catalog of his works, Grove Music Online lists the following categories of church music he composed: church cantatas, cantatas for church consecrations, music for the institutions of priests, funeral cantatas, Passion oratorios, sacred oratories, Psalms, motets, Masses and service music, and wedding cantatas and serenatas.[23] In the autobiography of 1718, Telemann emphasized his preference for church music over other genres:

> But I know one thing, that I valued church music most of all, and studied the works of other composers for its purpose, and have done most work in this genre, so that up until today I have completed 5 cycles for larger forces (*vollstimmig* = full-voices) and nearly 2 smaller ones, without the communion and afternoon pieces, masses, psalms, ariettas, and so on. Finally I remember the cantatas which I have done otherwise, as well as the serenades for high birth- or name-feasts.[24]

During his extremely long career as a composer of church music Telemann must have composed at least twenty complete annual cycles (*Jahrgänge*) of cantatas. Of these, approximately twelve cycles survive more or less whole. Of the 1700 cantatas which can be reasonably attributed to him, roughly 1400 are extant. The enormity of his output can be ascribed to the expectations of his employment obligations. In Eisenach, he was required to compose one cantata cycle every two years and in Frankfurt every three years,

[23] Steven Zohn. "Telemann, Georg Philipp." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://ezproxy.hputx.edu:2495/subscriber/article/grove/music/27635pg6 (accessed October 16, 2010).

[24] Metzler, 77.

after 1721. Prior to 1730, most of his cycles appear to have been intended for Eisenach, with concurrent and consequent performances in Frankfurt and Hamburg. Telemann's remarkable productivity served him well in managing the heavy workload at Hamburg. His new responsibilities there required that he compose two cantatas for the city's five main churches each Sunday, a new Passion cantata based on the Gospels in a four year sequence, and special cantatas for induction ceremonies, civic ceremonies, and oratorios for church consecrations.[25] In order to meet these demands he often repeated cantatas from earlier cycles, a common practice of his time. While few composers of his day published church cantatas, Telemann issued four complete cycles in Hamburg.[26] The *Harmonischer Gottes-Diensts* were the after sermon (*Nach der Predigt*) cantatas for 1725–26. This cycle was suitable for churches with small musical establishments and for home worship due to its limited scoring – voice, melody instrument, and continuo – and smaller scale – two da capo arias separated by a recitative. The *Fortsetzung des Harmonischen Gottesdienstes* of 1731–32 requires only two melody instruments, though expanded versions in copyists' manuscripts are extant. In the published cycle of 1727 Telemann included only the arias from the pre-sermon (*Vor der Predigt*) cantatas for 1726–27, which he arranged for voice and continuo, rewriting the bass line to include thematic material played originally by the strings. The published cycles of 1744

[25] Beulow, 561.

[26] The use of the terminology "cantata" has continued to evolve. It first appeared c. 1619 with the publication of Alessandro Grandi's *Cantade e arie*, a collection of forty-two pieces in monodic style. Telemann's published cantata collections are notable for their lack of chorales as a *cantus firmus*. The works of J. S. Bach which are today referred to as cantatas were not labeled as such by him. In fact, the only works Bach referred to as *kantaten* were secular works. For additional detail, see "cantata" in the New Grove Dictionary.

(composed by 1741–42) and 1748–49 have larger scorings, but are limited in their use of the full instrumental forces. Telemann's cantatas, in both published editions and manuscript, circulated widely during his lifetime. In 1758 Johann Ernst Bach claimed that there were few German Protestant churches in which Telemann's cantata cycles were not performed.

Although most of Telemann's earliest cantatas appear to be lost, a number of works surviving in manuscript copies are believed to have their origin in Hildesheim or Leipzig based on their stylistic similarities to the late seventeenth-century central German tradition. From the beginning of his career, Telemann strove for maximum stylistic and formal variety between cycles and from cantata to cantata. Beginning with the Eisenach period, all of Telemann's cantata texts were written expressly for him by Erdmann Neumeister and others. The rich instrumental writing found in many cantatas is enhanced by Telemann's creative treatment of vocal and instrumental color. This is especially demonstrated in arias with obbligato instruments. Despite the fugal textures of many choruses and the sometimes elaborate accompaniments to arias, Telemann's counterpoint maintains a characteristic transparency, a quality highly valued by his contemporaries.

Half of the forty-six liturgical Passions composed for Hamburg between 1722 and 1767 are extant. Only one of these is a parody of an earlier work. As was the practice of the day, nearly all of Telemann's liturgical Passions mix biblical prose texts with chorales and interpolated poetry sung by unnamed or allegorical characters. The chorales were given relatively straightforward harmonizations in order to facilitate their singing by the congregation. In keeping with the tradition in Hamburg, Telemann chose his texts

according to the order in which the four evangelists appear in the New Testament. Beginning in 1722, therefore, he wrote a *St. Matthew Passion* every four years. The Passion oratorios based on newly composed librettos utilize a more colorful, theatrical musical language and are generally scored for a larger orchestra than the liturgical Passions. Of these the *Brockes-Passion*, *Seliges Erwägen* and *Der Tod Jesu* enjoyed the greatest popularity during the eighteenth century. The *Seliges Erwägen*, written to Telemann's own text modeled on Brockes', was performed in Hamburg's concert halls and smaller churches almost every year from 1728 until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although Telemann's setting of *Der Tod Jesu* was eventually overshadowed by Carl Heinrich Graun's, his music is in many respects richer and more dramatic. Among the most highly praised of Telemann's compositions during the middle and late eighteenth century were the sacred oratorios written for public concerts in the 1750s and 1760s.

According to Steven Zohn, several masses and psalm settings, a Latin *Magnificat* and a Sanctus can be assigned to the Leipzig period.[27] The psalm settings encompass an especially wide range of styles, forms and scorings.[28] Telemann's masses have received little attention. In his dissertation on Telemann's vocal music, Werner Menke devotes

[27] Steven Zohn, "Telemann, Georg Philipp." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27635pg6 (accessed October 16, 2010).

[28] For more on the psalm settings, see Brian T. Russell's "The Psalm Settings of Georg Philipp Telemann: A Brief Guide to Research" *Journal of The American Choral Foundation* Research Memorandum Series 196 (Fall 2009). Published by Chorus America, David DeVenney, editor.

only sixteen lines to the subject of *missae*.[29] Menke's thematic catalog designation of TWV 9, labeled *Messen, Magnificat und Einzelstücke* contains twenty works. Of the sixteen works that are mass settings, eleven are based on chorale melodies.[30] In addition, there are two *Magnificats* (one each in Latin and German), an *Amen*, and a *Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden* (Psalm 117).[31] Clostermann maintains that an analysis of TWV 9 provides the following categories of *missae*:

1. Eleven choral masses, probably composed within a short time of each other and for the same purpose, if judged by their stylistic elements.
2. Four *missae breves*, two of them for choirs, one for soprano and choir, and one for alto solo.
3. A *Magnificat* in Latin.[32]

She further analyzes the *missae*:

> Telemann's *missae* were composed for a mixed choir of four voices. Both parts of the mass (Kyrie and Gloria) feel somewhat compressed inasmuch as only a few important words are repeated once or in rare cases twice. Moreover, the compositions are not subdivided by numbers, as is often the case in other eighteenth-century works, so that the term *missa brevis* seems highly appropriate.[33]

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[29] Annemarie Clostermann, "Die 'Missen' des Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) Anmerkungen zum Werkbestand TWV 9." Edited by Heribert Klein, Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, and Jürgen Schaarwächter. Translated by Eric C. Rust. In *Kirchenmusik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Festschrift Hans Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Köln, Verlag Christoph Dohr, 1998), 218.

[30] The chorale melodies are *Ach Gott vom Himmel* (TWV 9:1), *Allein Gott in der Höh'* (TWV 9:2), *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (TWV 9:3), *Durch Adams Fall* (TWV 9:4), *Ein Kindlein so löbelich* (TWV 9:5), *Erbarm dich mein* (TWV 9:6), *Es wird uns schier* (TWV 9:7), *Es soll uns Gott genädig sein* (TWV 9:8), *Gott der Vater wohn uns bei* (TWV 9:9), and *Komm Heiliger Geist* (TWV 9:10 and 9:11).

[31] Werner Menke, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Vokalwerke von Georg Philipp Telemann (Band II)* (Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1982), 38-40.

[32] Clostermann, 219.

[33] Ibid., 220-21.

The five masses found in manuscript at the *Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel* are all based on chorale melodies.[34] One of the five, *Es soll uns Gott genädig sein* (TWV 9:8) appears to be in a different hand and on different paper. In addition, no figured bass is provided. The other four are all set for four voices and continuo, with figured bass. In all five settings the figured bass appears to suggest *colla parte* doubling, though separate instrumental parts do not appear with the manuscripts. At the present time, only one of the masses based on a chorale melody, *Ein Kindlein so löbelich*, is available in a modern performing edition.

Historical Reception

Arguably more than either J. S. Bach or Handel, Telemann personified the very essence of German music in the first half of the eighteenth century.[35] In refusing to allow the scope of his musical activity to be limited by the nature of his official position, Telemann helped to redefine the role of the professional musician. Through his public concerts he gave music lovers the opportunity to hear all kinds of music, including works that were originally composed to mark ceremonies attended by a select few. Here, as in the long struggle to secure his prerogative to print and sell sacred vocal texts, he set an important precedent for regarding music as the intellectual property of its creator. According to Tanya Kevorkian, Telemann was "the most commercially successful

[34] They are TWV 9:3, 9:5, 9:8, 9:9, and 9:10.

[35] Bernd Baselt, "Georg Philipp Telemann und die protestantische Kirchenmusik: Ein Beitrag zur 200. Wiederkehr seines Todestages am 25. Juni 1967." Translated by Eric C. Rust *Musik und Kirche* 37 (1967), 197.

German composer of his time, aggressively marketing his secular and sacred printed works to a broad range of amateurs, small-town cantors, and others."[36] In publishing the first German music periodical, *Der getreue Music-Meister*, Telemann provided student and amateur musicians with vocal and instrumental works in scorings suitable for domestic music-making. Most of the music was his own, but he also included works by Jan Dismas Zelenka, J. S. Bach, and other leading musicians. According to Buelow, Telemann "grasped every opportunity to enlarge his audiences for both sacred and secular music."[37] He typically avoided extremes of technical difficulty in his music so as to encourage the widest possible dissemination, and in fact many of his publications found favor both in private homes and at Germany's courts, where they were performed by some of the leading musicians of the day. According to Bernd Baselt,

> … true experts have no doubt that Georg Philipp Telemann was one of the most fascinating phenomena in music history. Actively participating in all progressive currents in the arts and sciences throughout his lifetime, he himself and his work enjoyed general and genuine acclaim among his contemporaries, particularly those belonging to educated circles.[38]

During his long life, he composed in virtually every form known to the Baroque composer: operas, oratorios, Passions, Passion-oratorios, concertos, suites, cantatas, lieder, and chamber music for an astonishingly wide variety of instrumental combinations

[36] Kevorkian, 74.

[37] Buelow, 564.

[38] Baselt, 196.

flowed from his pen over a period of 65 years or so.[39] Eighteenth-century critics were virtually unanimous in counting Telemann among the best composers of his time. In Telemann's own day, he was far better known and appreciated than his friend Bach and had a reputation that surpassed Handel's. "Bach copied his music; Leopold Mozart used it as instruction materials for his son's lessons."[40] Leading German theorists, including his friends Johann Mattheson and Johann Joachim Quantz frequently held up Telemann's works as compositional models. In his *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu Spielen* (1752), Quantz praised Telemann's trios, quartets, orchestral suites, and church compositions as exemplary. The 71-year-old Telemann had for decades been regarded as Germany's leading composer. Seven years later, in the preface to his op. 2 duets, Quantz implied that he had taken Telemann's duets as models for his own.[41] Two published subscription lists demonstrate that Telemann's music was admired not only in German-speaking lands, but also in Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, France, Italy, England, Spain, Norway, Denmark, and the Baltic lands. For the *Musique de table* (1733), Handel sent an order from London, and in several subsequent compositions he borrowed and reworked many themes from the collection. The *Nouveaux quatuors* (Paris, 1738) attracted 294 orders (not 237 as is usually stated), including one from J.S. Bach and no fewer than 155 from France.

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[39] Nicholas Anderson, "Georg Philipp Telemann: A Tercentenary Reassessment," *Early Music* 9 (October 1981), 500-01.

[40] Godman, 135.

[41] Steven Zohn, "New Light on Quantz's Advocacy of Telemann's Music," *Early Music* 25 (August 1997), 441.

In his 1729 autobiography Telemann gave a concise summary of his stylistic development up to that point: "What I have accomplished with respect to musical style is well known. First came the Polish style, followed by the French, church, chamber and operatic styles, and [finally] the Italian style, which currently occupies me more than the others do." During the 1710s and 1720s Telemann played a leading role in establishing the style that became known as the German mixed taste, a blending of the German contrapuntal idiom with the French, Italian, and Polish styles. Telemann's reference to his preoccupation during the late 1720s with the Italian style is most likely an acknowledgment of his increasing adoption of the *galant* style, yet to characterize him as a *galant*, Rococo or early Classical composer, as some commentators have, is misleading. Virtually every major musical style cultivated during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century is represented in his output, and although Telemann's music changed with the times, certain elements of his style – most notably a melodic idiom reminiscent of German folksong or popular dance types, rich harmony, elegant counterpoint and idiomatic vocal and instrumental writing – remained absolute. According to Buelow, Telemann realized early in his career that the music of the seventeenth century no longer had relevance for the audiences of the age of the Enlightenment. As a result, he understood that he "must create new forms and styles of music that would find favor with the variety of audiences in Hamburg, music that would express the spirit of a new century in music."[42] While Telemann adopted many features of the mid-century Italian style during his later years, he appears not to have approved of the general tendency towards

[42] Buelow, 568.

harmonic simplification, complaining in 1751 to C. H. Graun about the blandness of harmony in contemporary music.[43]

Telemann's influence on younger generations of composers can be gauged only partially through those known to have been his composition pupils (J.W. Lustig, J. Hövet, Christoph Nichelmann, J.C. Schmügel, K.D. Krohn, Jean Du Grain and G.M. Telemann). Graupner, Pisendel, and Heinichen all performed under his direction at Leipzig, while Fasch and Stölzel became acquainted with Telemann's music there when they joined the *collegium musicum* under his successor, Melchior Hoffmann. Quantz's quartets were inspired by the older composer's works. Various Leipzig pupils of J.S. Bach, including W.F. Bach, C.P.E. Bach and J.F. Agricola, were exposed to Telemann's music from an early age. In the 1740s and 1750s Telemann's published songs strongly influenced the composers of the Berlin lieder school.

During the last third of the eighteenth century Telemann's music, especially his late oratorios and certain instrumental chamber works, remained known to many musicians. Performances of vocal works, some directed by Telemann's successor and godson C.P.E. Bach, were given regularly in Hamburg until 1776, then sporadically during the 1780s and 1790s. In Paris and London reprints of the instrumental works were still being sold in the 1760s and 1770s. Vocal and instrumental works were advertised by Breitkopf between 1761 and 1780, and the Hamburg firm of J.C. Westphal offered numerous sacred and secular vocal works between 1772 and 1799.

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[43] Steven Zohn. "Telemann, Georg Philipp." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://ezproxy.hputx.edu:2495/subscriber/article/grove/music/27635pg5 (accessed October 22, 2010).

After Telemann's death, "posterity lost little time in beginning to evaluate his legacy. As might be expected of such a revered figure, most published opinions concerning his music during the next quarter century were positive."[44] By the early years of the nineteenth century, however, knowledge and appreciation of Telemann's music was in rapid decline. In Vienna, an 1832 revival of *Der Tod Jesu* was apparently the last major performance of Telemann's music until the 20th century. The nineteenth-century's general ignorance of Telemann's music is reflected in the reliance of most lexicographers on the 1770 assessment by the Hamburg professor Christoph Daniel Ebeling. Among Ebeling's various criticisms of Telemann's music were:

1. In his inordinate desire to declaim words correctly, he sacrifices the beauty of the melody. The instruments interrupt the flow of melody more often than they advance it, which is a great fault in all his work which he learned from the French.
2. He so loved tone painting that not seldom he applied it senselessly to a picturesque word or thought, and therefore so forgot the entire affect that he sank into child's play and wished to paint things that no music can express. (This particular criticism appeared in many subsequent critiques of Telemann's music.)
3. Above all, he would be greater if it had not been so easy for him to write so unspeakably much. Seldom has one achieved many masterworks from a polygraph.[45]

"Lack of familiarity with Telemann's entire body of compositions made it easy to dismiss him as a 'shallow mass producer of music' whose works abounded in expressions of theatricality and therefore ran counter to the ideal of church services devoted to

[44] Steven Zohn, "Images of Telemann: Narratives of Reception in the Composer's Anecdote, 1750–1830," *The Journal of Musicology* 21 **(**Autumn 2004), 460.

[45] Buelow, 566.

edifying meditations."[46] This criticism seems unfair in light of the "lack of familiarity," which is due primarily to the lack of publication of many of Telemann's works. Telemann as "polygraph" or "*Vielschreiber*" and addicted word-painter are themes that run through most nineteenth-century accounts of his life and works. It is ironic then, that Ebeling and many of his late eighteenth-century contemporaries found much to praise in Telemann's music. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the music was unfairly judged according to the very different aesthetic standards of J. S. Bach. Indeed, it is probable that Telemann was being compared to Bach according to the aesthetic standards of Mendelssohn and other "Bach revivalists."[47] Buelow also suggests that those who degraded the works of Telemann may have been influenced by an anti-French bias.[48] "One should not forget that most criticism of Telemann's music, especially so when aesthetic tastes changed dramatically after his death, only targeted the most important representative of a style that was going out of style."[49] Similarly, Jeanne Swack contends that, being overshadowed by Bach, "Telemann had been subject to disdain caused by an unjust comparison between two composers of different styles and compositional outlooks…."[50] In their Bach biographies Spitta and Schweitzer disparaged Telemann's church cantatas while praising works attributed to Bach that have since been shown to be

[46] Baselt, 200-01.

[47] Johannes Brahms was among those on the editorial board of the *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe* (BGA) which first published the collected works of Bach from 1851-1899.

[48] Buelow, 566.

[49] Baselt, 200.

[50] Jeanne Swack, "Telemann Research Since 1975," *Acta Musicologica* 64 (December 1992), 139.

by Telemann. His critics seemed to believe that an appreciation of Telemann's new musical styles degraded or insulted the unique greatness of composers such as J. S. Bach, although neither Telemann's godson, C. P. E. Bach, nor his grandson, Georg Michael Telemann, failed to praise and perform his music with success long after Telemann's death.[51]

A growing interest in Telemann's music around the turn of the twentieth century culminated in the biographical accounts of Schneider and Romain Rolland, which gave a rational, balanced view of his creativity and led to more intense study of the man and his music.[52] According to Nicholas Anderson, during the early years of the twentieth century the music of Telemann enjoyed little more popularity than that of his Venetian contemporary Vivaldi. "He was known amongst what was then a very small and select community of recorder players as the composer of some entertaining and well-written sonatas and ensemble music."[53]

According to Swack, "one of the most puzzling aspects of the current state of Telemann research is the almost total lack of interest in the subject on the part of English-speaking scholars."[54] A study of Telemann's compositional achievements and a

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[51] Buelow, 568.

[52] According to Romain Rolland, it is especially crucial to study Telemann's works composed between 1715 and 1740. (Baselt, 198)

[53] Anderson, 499.

[54] Swack, 141. In her article published in 1992, Swack also comments on the concentration of Telemann research among East German scholars whose work was subject to political scrutiny. She further states that "there are no book-length studies on Telemann in English, aside from a translation of R. Petzoldt's outdated biography, very few articles, and only a handful of Ph.D. dissertations." Fortunately, in

comprehensive evaluation of his music are not only daunting to contemplate, but in some crucial ways, impossible to achieve satisfactorily. "Considering the scope of Telemann's lengthy career, significant research into his life and works remain disappointingly miniscule."[55] This could be due in part to not only the negative opinion of Telemann in the nineteenth century, but also because of many years of neglect. Several dissertations written between the two world wars, together with the publication of numerous performing and scholarly editions, paved the way for Bärenreiter's selected critical edition begun in 1950. The appearance of thematic catalogues during the 1980s and 1990s allowed the first accurate survey to be made of Telemann's output of well over 3000 works. As Godman has written, "He well deserves to be rediscovered in his own right as well as merely a sidelight of his greater contemporaries."[56]

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the almost twenty years since the publication of this article, more research has been undertaken by Steven Zohn, Brian Douglas Stewart, and others.

[55] Buelow, 562.

[56] Godman, 136.

Chapter Two: The Mass in the Lutheran Liturgy

Introduction

In music, painting, architecture, or any other art form, new ideas seldom appear suddenly and change the course of history. Minor changes or events often create the impetus for what later becomes a new trend or dominant style. The Baroque era in music history did not begin on January 1, 1600.[57] Harbingers of Baroque style can be seen as early as the 1580s. Baroque composers did not totally reject the old compositional styles and techniques, they simply added and expanded new concepts and forms to those procedures. In a similar manner, the Protestant Reformation did not begin in Germany on October 31, 1517, with the posting of Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses on the door of the church in Wittenberg. Currents of reform had begun years earlier. To fully investigate these issues is beyond the scope of this study. However, the changes that Luther instituted had a far-reaching impact on the culture, the society, and the church. Though Luther's reform movement eventually led to the establishment of the Lutheran church, his intention was not to break with the Church in Rome, only to correct flaws that had crept into it. When Luther developed his new insights in a new biblical theology, he had no idea of inaugurating a reform of the church. But when he attacked the practice and the doctrine of indulgences he inaugurated the Reformation, releasing a national protest against the power of the church.

> In the ensuing development Luther struggled for Christian freedom – in loyalty to the principles which his new

[57] In fact, it was not until the publication of Manfred Bukofzer's *Baroque Music* in 1947 that the terminology began to be accepted as a standard designation for music of the time period 1600-1750.

> understanding of the Christian religion implied, but his followers in the German nation … fought – in the name of the gospel – for freedom from those limitations which they found oppressive in their ecclesiastical, cultural, political, or social existence. From the outset, therefore, the Reformation was a movement full of contradictions. Luther himself contributed his share, in spite of the fact that, in defense of his religious cause, he often opposed friend and foe alike….[58]

This chapter, therefore, will briefly examine Luther's changes to the liturgy as well as elements retained from the Roman liturgy in light of Luther's writings and teachings.

Elements Retained from the Catholic Liturgy

Language

Two of Luther's best-known writings on the mass are the *Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Vuittembergensi* (1523) and the *Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdiensts* (1526).[59] The *Formula missae* provided guidance in the reform of the Latin Mass and communion practices, while the *Deutsche Messe* provided a mass for use in village churches that did not have the musical forces or training to sing the ordinary and propers of the Latin Mass. Joseph Herl writes that the *Formula missae* differs very little from the Roman mass, while the *Deutsche Messe* deviates more from the textbook

[58] William Pauck, "The Historiography of the German Reformation During the Past Twenty Years," *Church History* 9 (December 1940), 320.

[59] The titles of these writings may be translated as *The Form of the Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg* and *German Mass and Order of Worship*. Hereafter, they will be referred to as *Formula missae* and *Deutsche Messe*, respectively.

form of the Roman Mass.[60] One should take note of the languages in which Luther penned these works; the former in Latin, the latter in German. Luther believed it was essential that parts of the service should be in the German language, in order that the laity and common man could understand it. "It was principally intended as insurance for full perception of the text by the congregation, for education of the young, and for providing congregational participation in the simpler musical portions of the service."[61] He did not, however, advocate complete elimination of the Latin language. Luther's monastic training fixed in him a deep appreciation for both the Latin language and the chant and polyphony of the Roman church. In fact, Luther unmistakably favored the High Mass in Latin.

> Keenly sensitive to the great beauty, drama, and power of the Roman rite, he merely purged it of all papist "trappings" which he found objectionable, placed a new emphasis on the sermon and the Word, and returned to the laity much of its former active involvement. He built upon existing musical and liturgical tradition, not hesitating to expurgate, however, those elements which tended to cloud rather than to clarify the Gospel.[62]

Luther was intent on retaining chant and Latin polyphony, while, at the same time, encouraging his contemporaries to write hymns in the German language. In fact, all the music in the *Deutsche Messe* is derived from traditional chant except for the chorale

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[60] Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 28-29.

[61] Elwyn A. Wienandt. *Choral Music of the Church* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), 186.

[62] Ronald Lee Gould, "The Latin Lutheran Mass at Wittenberg 1523-1545: A Survey of the Early Reformation Mass and the Lutheran Theology of Music, As Evidenced in the Liturgical Writings of Martin Luther, the Relevant *Kirchenordnungen*, and the Georg Rhau *Musikdrucke* for the *Hauptgottesdienst*" (DSM diss., Union Theological Seminary, 1970), 1-2.

hymn paraphrases of the *Credo*, "*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*," and the *Sanctus*, "*Jesaja dem Propheten das geschach*."[63] The early Lutheran liturgy advocated not only the historic plainsong and figural music of the older Roman Catholic composers and the new Lutheran musicians, but also the more congregationally oriented vernacular chorales and chants.[64] As a result, it was not uncommon for Lutheran services to feature both Latin and German. Generally, the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* were sung by the choir and the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus Dei* were sung by the congregation in German. The first two movements of the ordinary of the mass, therefore, became the basis of a form particular to the Lutheran church, the *missa brevis* or *Kurzmesse*. The emergence of the *missa brevis* as a form is indicated by the preservation of only the Kyrie and Gloria in some early sources and newly composed *missae breves* began to appear after 1550.[65] By the time of Telemann, Bach, and their contemporaries, then, this was the common practice.[66] The Lutheran church did not rely solely, however, on newly composed settings of *Kyrie* and *Gloria*.

> The manuscript repertory of courts and churches in Lutheran Germany contains, in addition to original works by Protestant composers, a large number of masses by Catholic masters. These Catholic works remained acceptable to the Lutheran Church through the strength of

[63] Ibid., 8-9.

[64] Ibid., 21.

[65] John Brooks Howard, "The Latin Lutheran Mass of the Mid-Seventeenth Century: A Study of Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Missae* (1663) and Lutheran Traditions of Mass Composition" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1983), 99.

[66] Bach's *Missae Breves* (BWV 233-236) are often designated as "Lutheran Masses," both in published scores and recordings.

> tradition and because the Latin ordinary of the mass remained the common property of both confessions. Insofar as changes in the use of the ordinary in the Lutheran divine service involved the omission of certain texts or the substitution of vernacular works for them, Catholic masses could be adapted slightly by the excision of particular texts.[67]

Since Luther believed unreservedly that the mass should make sense to people and should permit them to be involved in the worship of God, he favored using the language of the people. However, the choral mass in Latin remained the principal service in Wittenberg throughout Luther's lifetime.[68]

> Today we tend to think of the musical heritage and tradition of the Lutheran Church almost exclusively in terms of the musical language of the *Deutsche Messe* with its simple congregational chants and chorales. The Latin rite and its attendant plainsong and polyphony, however, was equally a part of the earliest reform practice in Germany, expressly recommended by Luther himself as the form preferred for the *Gottesdienst* wherever the Latin language was understood and taught.[69]

Sermon

Another element Luther retained from the Catholic liturgy was the sermon. However, he afforded the sermon an increased importance in the service. Both the *Formula missae* and the *Deutsche Messe* stress the significance of the Word of God and

[67] Howard, 97-98.

[68] Herl, 22.

[69] Gould, 53.

the preaching and teaching of the scriptures.[70] To Luther, the high point of the Lutheran service was the sermon. He believed that Holy Scripture existed not primarily to be read or studied, but to be preached.[71] The delivery of the spoken Word in the vernacular placed all of the important musical activity before the Sermon.[72] Although preaching was not unknown in the Roman tradition, in the evangelical mass it became essential. "No longer would the mere reading of scripture at mass be considered a good work. Without aid from the pulpit people failed to find the Word in the words."[73]

Elements Changed or Discarded from the Catholic Liturgy

Priesthood of the Believer/Universal Priesthood

While Luther is often credited with the doctrine of the "priesthood of the believer," he did not use that precise terminology. Luther's concept was that of "universal priesthood." Luther based this doctrine primarily on I Peter 2:9.[74] In the Catholic tradition, a person was not able to turn directly to God but required a priest as an intermediary. This is best evidenced in the Catholic practice of confession. The layman confessed his sins to the priest, who prayed to God on his behalf in order to obtain

[70] John Ernfrid Windh, "Early Lutheran Masses" (DMA diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971), 31.

[71] Ibid., 12-13.

[72] Wienandt, 192.

[73] Windh, 13.

[74] "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should shew forth the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light." (KJV)

absolution. According to Pauck, Luther's intention was to "make room for the freedom of the faith which had come to be his own struggle for salvation," and derived its nature from Luther's understanding of Paul's teaching of the justification of the sinner by faith in the merciful attitude of God toward man.[75] According to Ernest Schwiebert, Luther liberated himself from the grip of the medieval experience of God as a remote and final judge, replacing that view with a new theology of grace and individual conscience, a *Gewissenreligion*, in which each man lives in direct personal relationship with his God.[76] The doctrine grew out of Luther's compassion for the common man and for both his spiritual and temporal well-being. The doctrine led Luther to consider the worshipper in the pews as he arranged his services of worship. This may be observed specifically in the *Deutsche Messe* which was purposely oriented to allow the layman to take an active part in the performance of the church's liturgies.[77] The doctrine was also factored into the relationship between the believer and the powers of religious and civil authorities.

> Lutheran pastors and teachers indeed taught the virtue of obedience to magistrates and parents but were also careful to set forth the limits within which God's Word bounded the legitimate demands of magistrates, parents, and the clergy themselves. Lutherans sought to inculcate a deep but qualified respect for political and religious authorities, while protecting the individual conscience from absolute obedience to anything but the Word of God itself.[78]

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[75] Pauck, 319-320.

[76] Ernest G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), 291.

[77] Walter E. Buszin, "Luther on Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 32 (January 1946), 93-94.

[78] Christopher Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), 54.

In addition, Brown writes that for many Lutheran congregants, the hymns were "a primary means whereby they exercised their universal priesthood, proclaiming and applying the Word to encourage and comfort themselves and one another as effectively as a pastor might."[79]

Scripture

In Luther's day, the language of those who were educated and of the Catholic church was Latin. Prior to Luther's reform movement, the pope specifically, and the local priests informed the parishioners what Scripture said and what it meant. Luther's insistence that only the Scriptures were to serve as the guide for the Christian faith made it inevitable that he turn to the task of making the Scriptures available in German so that people could read them for themselves.[80] The common, uneducated people of the day did not know Latin and, therefore, were forced to accept the authority of the church. With a translation in their native tongue and in their hands, the people were able to read the Scripture and, for the first time, think for themselves about its meaning.[81] Just as Luther desired and instructed for music in the vernacular, he also provided for a German language translation.

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[79] Ibid., 171.

[80] Hans J. Hillerbrand, ed. *The Protestant Reformation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 37-38. Hillerbrand further states that Luther's motivation in translating the Bible was a "conscious effort to challenge the common people with his program of ecclesiastical transformation."

[81] The invention of Gutenberg's movable-type printing press, which made mass production possible, allowed for wide dissemination of Luther's translation and most certainly played a part in getting the Scripture into the hands of the people.

Following the Diet of Worms in 1521, at which Luther would not recant his list of abuses in the Catholic church, he was taken to Wartburg castle for safety. It was during this time of "imprisonment," from May, 1521 to March, 1522, that he began the translation of the New Testament.[82] Scripture was acknowledged as "the very foundation of the Lutheran theology of worship (*sola Scriptura*) and became the sole standard of measurement in Luther's attack on the *sacrificium*, the allegorical sacrifice in the Mass…."[83]

> Yet scripture in the vernacular was not intended to be a mere polemical effort against the papal church. Luther had found his own sacred history, his salvation, in scripture, and he believed that Christians everywhere could be spiritually nourished by the sacred text. Scripture had made him what he was. He believed it would transform others in the same way. He had made his university career as a teacher of the Bible; he would now extend his vocation to include the whole German people.[84]

While other translators had worked from the Latin Vulgate, Luther translated from the original texts in Hebrew (Old Testament) and Greek (New Testament). In this respect, according to Hartmann Grisar, Luther followed the humanistic tendency of his age.[85] The German Bible reveals as clearly as anything what Luther wanted to believe and where he felt he had to struggle to overcome problems and doubt. He founded his

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[82] Hillerbrand, 38.

[83] Vilmos Vatja, "Martin Luther's Concept of Worship," *The Musical Heritage of the Lutheran Church*, V, ed. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 18.

[84] Richard Marius, *Martin Luther: The Christian Between God and Death* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 348.

[85] Hartmann Grisar, *Martin Luther: His Life and Work*. Adapted from the Second German Edition by Frank J. Eble. Edited by Arthur Preuss (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1960), 422.

gospel on scripture. He was sure that scripture radically contradicted many traditions of the Catholic Church.[86] This is one of the points on which Luther and Jean Calvin disagreed. While Calvin considered all non-scriptural elements of the mass to be extraneous, Luther abolished only those features which he believed expressly contradicted scripture.

> He realized his mass was far more elaborate than that of the apostolic church of the first century. Yet he was sure the additions could remain if they glorified Christ and emphasized the Gospel. The sheer artistry of the Roman mass frankly impressed him. He rejoiced in its ceremony and esthetic; he unhesitatingly retained its gestures, symbols, ritual and particularly its music. Although some might not fully appreciate choral artistry, Luther was convinced that music's beauty and splendor deserved a place in worship.[87]

Luther's persistence in working on his translation enabled him to publish a complete version in 1534. When the work was published, it contained Luther's marginal notes, which were composed in short sentences intended to explain the text or to make its meaning more understandable to the reader.[88] Though the edition was complete, Luther continued to make revisions. The most renowned edition, referred to as the "*Normalbibel*," (1545), was the last to appear during his lifetime.[89] The linguistic excellence of this German version is undisputed. The immense influence which this work

[86] Marius, 347.

[87] Windh, 17.

[88] Grisar, 420-421.

[89] Ibid., 423.

exercised on the development of the German language is universally acknowledged.[90] The translation of the Bible into German was, perhaps, Luther's greatest contribution to German culture.

Congregational Participation

Based on Luther's desire for music in the vernacular, his doctrine of universal priesthood, and his translation of the Bible in the German language, one cannot doubt that he was vitally concerned that the congregation have the opportunity to participate in worship. "Since he believed wholeheartedly that the mass should make sense to people and should permit them to become involved in the worship of God, he also favored using the language of the people and he wished the congregation to sing."[91] Thus, it is somewhat surprising that Luther never published a blueprint of the ideal Lutheran rite. His liturgical writings are concerned more with the purpose and meaning of worship than with its forms.[92] "Luther's liturgical influence is remarkable since he was not primarily interested in the forms of worship. His whole concern was the preaching and teaching of the Word.[93]

Though he was reticent to create a uniform liturgy, Luther formed teams of evangelical leaders to travel to various churches and advise them in liturgical matters.

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[90] Ibid., 421.

[91] Windh, 16-17.

[92] Leupold, *Luther's Works*, 5.

[93] Ibid., xiii.

These teams and the many church orders they fostered, the *Kirchenordnungen*, limited local experimentation far more effectively than did Luther's writings, so that, already by 1530 it could be said that a particularly evangelical mass had come into being, a mass very much like the Roman rite in its external forms.[94]

Conclusion

> Cast in the role of a prophet, but forced by the historical circumstances of his time to release forces of a political, social, and ecclesiastical revolution, he ended as the father and founder of a new ecclesiastical order. His movement, which had begun with the demand for the renewal of religion of the basis of personal faith, ended in the establishment of new ecclesiastical institutions which imposed upon their members rigorous standards of theological orthodoxy. The religious renewal which, in the beginning, had tended toward the organization of congregational churches within the limits of the German nation, ended in the foundation of territorial state-churches. The reform which at first had promised to inject the power of renewal into the whole of human life produced primarily a change in ecclesiastical institutions.[95]

What began as a movement to engender reforms within the Catholic church unarguably led to the founding of a new branch of Christianity based on the beliefs and teachings of Martin Luther. Luther's beliefs gave the German people the Scripture in their own tongue, hymns and other music in their own language, and allowed for them a more personal relationship with God. In addition, the reform movement established a new musical form, the *missa brevis*, consisting of the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. Despite these changes, however, the Lutheran service was not radically different from the Catholic

[94] Windh, 33.

[95] Pauck, 320-321.

service. Perhaps it is human nature to gravitate toward what is known, even within the context of change.

Chapter Three: The Importance of Music in the Lutheran Liturgy

The Importance of Music to Luther

Martin Luther was a strong proponent not only of music in the church, but also of music in general. Music was an important part of his life, as evidenced by the many direct and indirect references to music in his writings. Luther saw value in all art forms, especially music, in the service of Him who created and imparted them.[96] According to Robin Leaver, "For Luther, therefore, music is a God-given benefit to humankind: it may be developed and refined in new ways, but the raw material of music – physical vibrations in the air, the proportions and relationships of different pitches, and so forth – is absolutely and fundamentally the gift of God in creation."[97] As a member of the school choir at Eisenach he had been taught the elements of the theory of music. In addition to his Latin school education, his clerical training instilled in him a deep love of and appreciation for music. As a performer, Luther wrote of his playing the lute and flute, and of his delight in singing both the sacred and secular music of his time. There is evidence that he was able to complete musical settings, add additional voices, or compose completely new settings, "activity which demanded more than an average musical education."[98] His friend Matthaeus Ratzeberger declared that Luther was able to correct

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[96] Gould, 18.

[97] Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), 70.

[98] Ulrich S. Leupold, "Luther's Musical Education and Activities," *The Lutheran Church Quarterly* 12 (October 1939), 424.

errors which he occasionally found in the music he sang at home with his friends.[99] Luther had "a good grounding in the practical aspects of music in school and university, and throughout his adult life continued to make music with his friends and colleagues, many of whom were accomplished musicians."[100] His relationship to music was an integral part of his being.

> I have always loved music. Those who have mastered this art are made of good stuff, they are fit for any task. It is necessary indeed that music be taught in the schools. A teacher must be able to sing; otherwise I will not as much as look at him. Also, we should not ordain young men into the ministry unless they have become well acquainted with music in the schools.[101]

Luther was a remarkable judge of music whose high standards are demonstrated by his preference for Ludwig Senfl (c. 1486-c. 1543) and Josquin des Prez (c. 1450-1521).[102]

> His unbiased assessment of the disparity between his own polyphonic compositions and the works of the great German-speaking composers of his time, and even more his oft-declared preference for Josquin des Prez, indicate that Luther had a comprehensive knowledge of the music of his time, that he knew how to evaluate correctly its stylistic development, and that he thoroughly understood the difference between locally composed lieder and motets and the greatest creations of the period.[103]

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[99] Gould, 5.

[100] Leaver, 102.

[101] Buszin, 85.

[102] Senfl and Josquin were both Catholic. As a musician to the Bavarian court, Senfl's music was highly praised by Luther. While the Bavarian dukes strongly opposed Protestantism, they were highly respected by Luther for supporting a magnificent musical establishment.

[103] Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1975), 8.

According to Lang, Luther believed that "music was a living art of the present" and invoked Josquin as its greatest master, "whose music he praised above all others."[104] There is no evidence that Luther was critical of any kind of music. His competence and experience in music were equal to his acumen and expertise in theology.

> Martin Luther, as man and as theologian, was as far removed from the pietist as a thinker and a religionist could possibly be, and he accepted music wholeheartedly in every one of its manifestations and employments. And he teaches us by his example that music is always thus to be approved of where fullness and joy of life are deemed praiseworthy and desirable possessions. He clearly regarded it as not only necessary in religious worship, but as the most powerful of all factors in developing and sustaining the emotional fervour without which, as he himself understood the matter, full worship and praise cannot be effected.[105]

Several of Luther's contemporaries refer to the singing of the best sacred and secular works by the gathered "house choir" after dinner at Luther's home in order to sing the music of Josquin, Isaac, Senfl, and Walter.[106] Luther believed that music is

> more than occasional entertainment for the human spirit; it exercises a moral influence that diminishes the negative effects of evil, promotes the positive aspects of goodness, and creates a sense of therapeutic well-being for individuals as well as for groups as they perform or hear it.[107]

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[104] Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), 208.

[105] Eva Mary Grew, "Martin Luther and Music" *Music & Letters* 19 (January 1938), 67.

[106] Lang, 210-211.

[107] Leaver, 71.

Because of Luther's understanding and love of music, a great body of German Protestant church music exists today. "In the sublime harmonies of music, God could speak to the human soul. The sensory world and the world of the spirit did not have to be at odds with each other, but both were under grace.[108] It comes as no surprise, then, that music played an important role in the liturgy of his reforms.

The Importance of Music in the Liturgy

Luther believed that the finest music was most suitable for use in worship. "Luther was well aware of music's natural power to stimulate and arouse the souls of men, and he confessed that it often affected him so intensely that he felt the desire to preach."[109]

> He who despises music, as do all the fanatics, does not please me. For music is a gift and largess of God, not a gift of men. Music drives away the devil and makes people happy; it induces one to forget all wrath, unchastity, arrogance, and other vices. After theology, I accord to music the highest place and the greatest honor. We note that David and all the saints used verse, rhymes, and songs to express their godly thoughts; *quia pacis tempore regnat musica*—for music reigns in days of peace.[110]

Where St. Augustine shunned the use of music in the church, Luther openly embraced and encouraged it.

> … Music is a beautiful and lovely gift of God which has often moved and inspired me to preach with joy. St.

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[108] Marius, 386.

[109] Gould, 22.

[110] Buszin, 88.

> Augustine was afflicted with scruples of conscience whenever he discovered that he had derived pleasure from music and had been made happy thereby; he was of the opinion that such joy is unrighteous and sinful. He was a fine pious man; however, if he were living today, he would hold with us….[111]

As "a mistress and governess of human emotions," Luther ascribed to music the same power over men that Augustine had; but where Augustine believed that power to be of the devil, Luther held the opposite view.[112] Luther also disagreed with his fellow reformers, Jean Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli, on the suitability of music in worship. Calvin held that the only necessary music in church was the singing of biblical psalms in the vernacular. Like Augustine, Calvin feared that" more complex music might cause the singers to delight in the music for its own sake, lessening the effect of the text."[113] As a result of Calvin's lack of interest in music, there was no comparable music literature in the countries and regions that followed Calvin's teachings. While Lutherans regarded their hymns as a form of preaching and proclamation, for Calvin the sung psalms were classified as congregational prayer.[114] In an attempt to follow the New Testament to the letter, Zwingli took an even more extreme view on the use of music in the church and rejected the historic liturgy because Christ had not commanded it. According to Herl, Zwingli believed that true worship is in spirit and not in outward forms. Therefore no

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[111] Ibid., 89.

[112] Windh, 4.

[113] Herl, 108-09.

[114] Brown, 24.

music at all was to be permitted in the service.[115] He also banned the use of instrumental music because there was no evidence that the earliest Christians used musical instruments in their worship. This is not surprising, however, since the early church met in private homes.

Luther also held music to be of extreme value for its evangelistic possibilities. He believed worship was an event which proclaimed the Word of God in several ways. While the sermon and communion were the most direct avenues, music was an important vehicle because it could also speak the Word both through its text and through its own "God-reflecting beauty and power."[116] From the beginning, the Lutheran hymns were a successful method for the dissemination of evangelical ideas. Because the German language texts were set to tunes that were recognizable, they were easily learned and, therefore, easily disseminated. In contrast to the printing of books, hymn texts could be quoted and sent by letter with instructions to be sung to a particular tune. "Perhaps more readily than any other kind of Protestant literature, the hymns spread not only in broadsheet or other printed form, but also by word of mouth and private letter."[117] Luther's ideas concerning the liturgical function of music developed out of the basic belief that music was first, praise of God; second, an aid to the practice of devotion; and, finally, an instructive tool for the spreading of the Gospel.[118] Though the Lutheran clergy

[115] Herl, 109.

[116] Windh, 15.

[117] Brown, 9.

[118] Blume, 13.

were often their own worst critics, they too recognized the popularity of Lutheran song among the people.

It fell to Luther, then, to create this body of vernacular hymn texts. Towards the end of 1523 he began to encourage his friends and colleagues to join him in the writings of hymns. Luther repeatedly urged German poets to turn their talent to writing new hymn texts. While he insisted that hymns be sung in the language of the people, it was equally important that they be idiomatic. It was important for the music of a German mass to reflect the natural speech accent of the language and not simply a translation of the Latin, confined to its original plainchant melody.[119] By encouraging the creativity of his musical colleagues, Luther generated the momentum which produced a body of liturgical material that irrefutably established music as a national art form in Germany.[120] He saw these corporate songs as being fundamentally catechetical, stating "I intend to make vernacular psalms for the people, that is, spiritual songs so that the Word of God even by means of song may live among the people.[121] In the *Formula missae*, Luther wrote:

> I also wish that we had as many songs as possible in the vernacular which the people could sing during mass, immediately after the gradual and also after the Sanctus and Agnus Dei. For who doubts that originally all the people sang these which now only the choir sings or responds to while the bishop is consecrating? The bishops may have these [congregational] hymns sung either after the Latin chants, or use the Latin on one [Sun]day and the vernacular on the next, until the time comes that the whole mass is

[119] Gould, 38.

[120] Ibid., 6.

[121] Leaver, 108.

> sung in the vernacular. But poets are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them [Col. 3:16], worthy to be used in the church of God.[122]

Despite Luther's training and life-long involvement in music, he was unwilling to draw solely on his own knowledge and talent as he set about to create vernacular songs for his new liturgy. Therefore, he enlisted the assistance of Konrad Rupsch (1495-1530) and Johann Walter (1496-1570), the two leading musicians of the Elector Frederick's *Hofkapelle* for assistance. Walter had come to Luther's notice through the publication of the *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein* (1524) to which Luther contributed a preface.[123] The music for Luther's hymns was drawn from several sources. Some were derived from the ancient melodies of the Roman church, some from pre-Reformation church hymns. In addition, according to Blume, pre-Reformation German sacred lieder, and German folk and fraternal songs were the sources of the largest number of texts and melodies.[124] It was natural, of course, that Luther would draw on the chant melodies for his new songs. He knew them well, the congregations were, at the least, familiar with them, and they had stood the test of nearly a thousand year's time.

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[122] Leupold, *Luther's Works*, 36.

[123] G. B. Sharp, "The Fathers of Lutheran Music: 1; Johann Walter" *The Musical Times* 112 (November 1971), 1060.

[124] Blume, 14.

The Importance of the Chorale

Luther is often credited as being the father of congregational song; however, hymnody existed long before the Reformation. Matthew 26:30 speaks of Jesus and his disciples singing a hymn at the Last Supper.[125] In Paul's Epistle to the church at Colossae, he also speaks of the singing of "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs…."[126] Although Catholic plainchant for the Office was designed for communal singing, as the hierarchy of the Church became established over time, the community of the congregation became increasingly separated from the singing as it fell more increasingly to the priests and monks to sing prayers on behalf of the community as a whole. As a result, Luther wrote to his friend Spalatin in 1524, "I wish to make German psalms, that is to say, sacred hymns for the people, that the Word of God may dwell among them by means of song also."[127] It was by Luther's intentional effort, therefore, that he created a particular German hymn form, the chorale.

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[125] "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives" (KJV). While it may not be possible to determine the exact practice of hymn singing, the text is clear that this was a corporate act.

[126] "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another is psalms, and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (KJV). Since the early Christian church was essentially an underground movement meeting in homes, the people had to take great care to not be discovered.

[127] Archibald W. Wilson, "The Melodies of Luther's Hymns" *The Musical Times* 55 (July 1914), 448.

The chorale may be rightly considered the foremost contribution of Lutheranism to church music and, according to Paul Ensrud, "a legacy of priceless worth."[128] By using chorale melodies as *cantus firmi*, composers established a connection between the congregation and Luther himself. Further, they established a relationship between the tune and the text with which it was generally associated. For nearly two hundred years after the deaths of both Luther (1546) and Walter (1570), German poetry and music were focused on the chorale. The chorale is an unmistakable element in the cantatas, Passions, and organ works of J. S. Bach. Influenced by Bach, Mendelssohn incorporated chorales into his oratorio *Elijah*, as well as his "Reformation" Symphony. The majority of Johannes Brahms' organ works, a very small part of his *oeuvre*, are settings of chorale melodies. "Because of Luther's intense interest in music and because of his philosophy concerning its nature, uses, import, and purposes, men like Schütz, Buxtehude, Pachelbel, Bach, and a host of others have been encouraged and impelled to write some of the world's greatest music."[129] From the time of Luther to the present day, the chorale continues to be a source for musical works.[130]

For the early Lutherans, the chorales were a form of God's Word, set to texts from Luther's translation of Scripture.

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[128] Paul Ensrud, *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, ed. Julius Bodensieck (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1965), I: 401.

[129] Buszin, 96-97.

[130] Many wind ensemble works have been composed using *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* as their basis. An innovation of the twentieth century, the wind ensemble works highlight the enduring quality of the chorales in contemporary composition. For further reading, see: Robert Tucker, "A Historical Examination of the Hymn Tune *Ein Feste Burg* and its Treatment in Selected Twentieth-Century Concert Band Literature" PhD diss., Texas Tech University, 2001.

> His ideas merely provided alternatives to the old forms, and the freedom of interchange between old and new was so great that the entire service could be held in either Latin or German, or a comparatively free substitution of German for any Latin part could be submitted. So closely was this new procedure tied to the introduction of German hymns that the chorale became more important to the future of Lutheran music than did any of Luther's attempts to change the structure of the Mass or the religious service.[131]

Therefore, by providing and encouraging the vernacular congregational song, Luther did more to further his teachings among the laity than any of his writings on the subject.

[131] Wienandt, 186.

Chapter Four: Observations on Performance and Interpretation

The Use of the Chorale Melody

The chorale melody *Christ lag in Todesbanden* resembles the twelfth-century Easter song *Christ ist erstanden* (see Figure 4.1), which is based on the sequence *Victimae Paschali Laudes.*

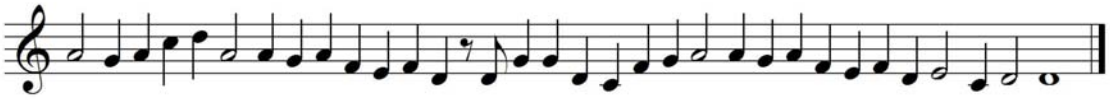


Figure 4.1. *Christ ist erstanden* melody.

By the fifteenth century, *Christ ist erstanden* "had won a firm place in the German Eastern liturgy."[132] Dating from 1524, *Christ lag in Todesbanden* is believed to have been composed by Martin Luther. According to Albert Schweitzer, however, the extent to which Luther himself was a composer of melodies cannot be determined.[133] *Christ lag…* was used by a number of composers for polyphonic elaboration, in both vocal and instrumental works, from shortly after Luther's own time.[134]

In order to demonstrate Telemann's use of the melody in this mass setting, I have divided the melody into six motives, labeled A through F (See Figure 4.2), each of which

[132] Gerhard Herz, ed. *Bach Cantata No. 4: An Authoritative Score* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1967), 26.

[133] Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*. Translated by Ernest Newman (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1962), I: 16.

[134] Included among the composers who used the melody are Michael Praetorius, Samuel Scheidt, Johannes Werlin, Johann Walter, Johannes Crüger, Johann Schein, Johann Kuhnau, Johann Pachelbel, J. S. Bach, and Andreas Hammerschmidt.

corresponds to a textual phrase. Telemann uses the motives in order, sometimes individually and sometimes in combination.

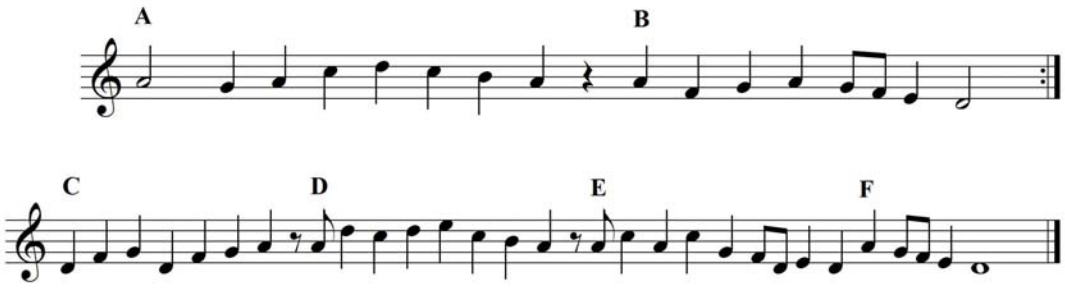


Figure 4.2. *Christ lag in Todesbanden* melody.

Analysis

Historically, the *Kyrie* is tripartite in construction, both textually and musically:

Kyrie eleison,	Lord have mercy,
Christe eleison,	Christ have mercy,
Kyrie eleison,	Lord have mercy.

In this setting, Telemann uses only motives A and B. For the first *Kyrie*, Telemann quotes the A motive exactly in all four voices and in the *Christe*, quotes the B motive exactly in all four voices. For the second *Kyrie*, Telemann layers these two motives (Figure 4.3). Both motives are presented, at least relatively speaking, in longer note values. This was a common method for treating a chorale melody, in order for the congregation to easily recognize it. While it is not uncommon for each of the three parts of *Kyrie* to also contain three parts (three statements of *Kyrie*, three statements of *Gloria*, three statements of *Kyrie*), Telemann does not follow this design. The first *Kyrie* consists of only two statements of the text, found in all four voice parts. The *Christe* consists of three truncated statements; the first two presentations are in all four voice parts, while the third

is stated only in the bass voice (m. 70). The second *Kyrie* nearly presents three full statements of the text, with the final statement missing in the alto voice. It is also interesting to note that both the *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison* texts are found in the third section.

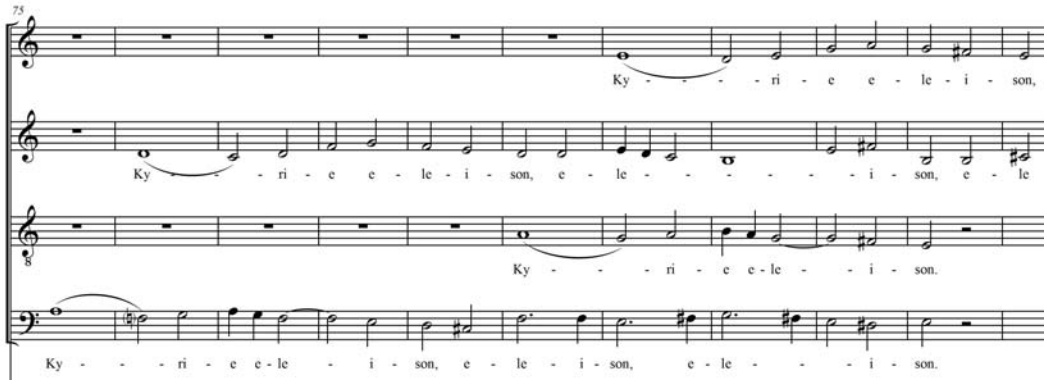


Figure 4.3. Layering of A and B motives from *Christ lag.*…melody, *Kyrie*, mm. 75-85

The *Kyrie* is very reserved, employing contrapuntal writing primarily in support of the chorale motives. It is not unusual that Telemann utilizes the *stile antico* and *stile moderno* within the same work. Composers continued to mix these two styles, especially in works intended for the church or that are sacred in nature.[135] Even a cursory glance at masses of Palestrina reveals a similar style of imitative counterpoint in long notes among all voice parts. Further research is necessary to determine if this style of composition was traditional in Leipzig, if in fact this piece can be traced to Leipzig.

[135] In *Messiah* (1742), Handel employs both of these styles in the choruses "And with His stripes we are healed" (No. 25) and "All we like sheep have gone astray" (No. 26). The first statement of each voice at the beginning of "And with His stripes…" is made in longer note values giving away to shorter note values and counterpoint that spins out. "All we like sheep…" closes, in similar fashion, with longer note values in a more severe style with the text "and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." In addition, Mozart utilizes *stile antico* in "*Laudate pueri*" from *Vesperae solennes de confessore* (K. 339), culminating in a fugue in inverted counterpoint.

The second "movement" begins with the text *Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Glory to God in the highest), which the angels sang to the shepherds announcing the birth of Christ. In keeping with the tradition of the time, a priest or cantor chanted, or intoned, the first textual phrase, and the choir entered singing the text *et in terra pax* (and on earth peace). In the *Gloria*, Telemann uses the remaining four motives of the chorale melody individually. As in the *Kyrie*, motives C – E are presented in longer note values. The F motive, however, is used as the basis for a fugue (See Figure 4.4).

Unlike the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria* is quite expressive and contemporary to the period. While the opening of the movement begins with longer note values in an ascending passage (*et in terra pax)*, Telemann soon layers this with imitative counterpoint (*hominibus bonae voluntatis*), taking advantage of the opportunities for text-painting. The upward motion of the text also seems to imply crescendo along with the addition of voice parts, as well as, perhaps, a reference to the chorus of angels that originally sang this text. This opening section closes with a full, four-voice texture, giving way to a brief section (mm.39-50) of statement-response between the soprano voice and lower three voices which, interestingly, does not incorporate any of the chorale melody. The chorale melody (motive D) returns in imitation with free counterpoint. The beginning of this motive has the largest intervallic leap in the melody (perfect 4^{th}), which seems to correspond appropriately to the text *Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam* (We give thanks to Thee according to Thy great glory).

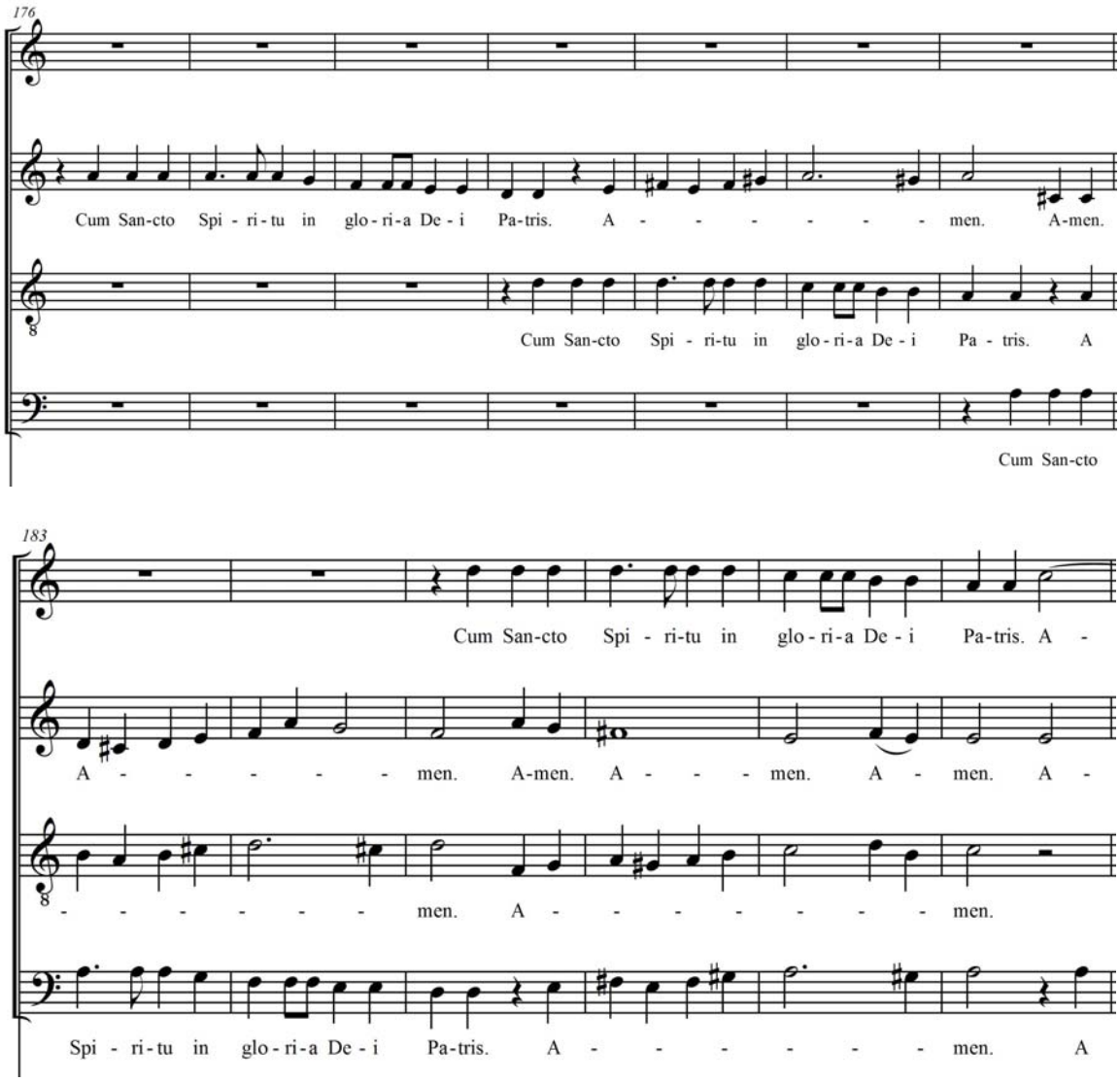


Figure 4.4. F motive as basis for fugue, *Gloria*, mm. 176-188

The E motive is originally presented only as a fragment in the soprano voice (mm. 74-75), the alto voice (mm. 80-81), and the tenor voice (mm. 86-87). The E motive is finally fully presented in the soprano voice (mm. 144-148). However, between these fragments and the full presentation of this motive, Telemann again incorporates a sense of *stile antico* (mm. 93-144) and, again, does so without the use of any portion of the chorale melody. This section allows for a sense of prayerfulness and introspection at the

text *Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri. Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem* (Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer). The only motion against the primarily whole-note passage is in the bass voice, which moves almost entirely scale-wise in half-notes. When the E motive is fully presented, Telemann also incorporates a countermelody first in the tenor voice (mm. 148-159) and then, in some form, in the other three voices, which anticipates the fugue (motive F) which begins at m. 176.

Perhaps the most exciting passage of the *Gloria* is the fugue and *Amen* which close the movement. As noted earlier, the fugue is based on the F motive of the chorale melody which, in Luther's text, is set to the word *Hallelujah*. The return of the chorale melody in shorter note values may indicate a quickening of the tempo. Important to this section are the *Amen* "duets." At the entrance of the third voice (here, the bass at m. 182), the alto and tenor voices have a duet in thirds. Likewise, at the entrance of the fourth voice (here, the soprano at m. 185), the tenor and bass voices have a duet in thirds. Also stirring are the chain suspension passages between the soprano and alto voices (mm. 189-190 and mm. 206-209). The beginning of the drive to the final cadence begins at m. 214 with stretto-like statements of the F motive starting with the soprano voice and working down to the bass voice. This also coincides with the use of longer note values, which builds in a slight *ritardando*.

Performance Considerations and Suggestions

A number of practical performance considerations arose from the preparation of the score and in rehearsal for its performance. One matter that bears consideration is that

of *basso continuo* and the use of *colla parte* doubling. As noted earlier, there are no separate instrumental parts with the manuscript; in addition, the score does not include figured bass until the entrance of the bass voice. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that the voice parts were doubled. While the first performances of the present edition the voices were doubled with a keyboard instrument (organ and piano), the work certainly may be performed *a cappella*. A conductor contemplating a performance of this work should consider the number of singers and/or the skill level of the singers in determining whether or not to double the voices. Another performing possibility is the use of chord-only accompaniment based on the harmonies indicated by the figured bass.

The first performances of this edition were sung by a quartet of professional singers. Even so, the rehearsal process revealed the importance that they be reminded of several details, including style characteristics of the period (terraced dynamics, word/syllabic inflection, and buoyancy), listening for the entrance of the chorale motives, and keeping a steady tempo. The conductor programming this work with a choir of students will, most likely, be required to spend considerable more time on these performance elements. It is my opinion that the work is quite accessible to an advanced high school choir and, certainly, to a college/university choir, serving as a fine example of a German Baroque work in a concert setting. It can be programmed in a variety of ways, including mass settings within the Baroque era or throughout history, or within a program of works which incorporate chorale melodies or works which are based on a *cantus firmus*. The work will also easily function liturgically in both Protestant and Catholic traditions. In Protestant churches which are more liturgical in their worship

practice, it fits into the existing design of the service, with the other movements of the ordinary of the mass sung by the congregation in the vernacular. In the Catholic tradition, it would be necessary to locate settings of the remainder of the ordinary of the mass.

In addition, either portion of the work (*Kyrie* and *Gloria*) can be used separately. The *Gloria*, especially, can easily be used either liturgically or in a concert setting. Unlike Bach's "Lutheran Masses"[136] which divide the text of *Gloria* between soloists and the choir, Telemann uses the entire *Gloria* text. In a concert setting, the *Gloria* could be one of two or three settings of the text used either within a set or spaced thematically throughout a concert.

As mentioned previously, only one of the masses based on a chorale melody, *Ein Kindlein so löbelich*, is published in a modern performing edition. It is hoped that this study will inaugurate renewed interest in and publication of these works.

[136] As a result, Bach's "Lutheran Masses" (BWV 233-236) are often referred to as "cantata masses."

Appendix A: *Missa sopra Christ lag in Todesbanden* (TWV 9:3)

Preface

To create the performing edition, the manuscript was transcribed using Finale® notation software. The score was created with movable C clefs in both the voice parts and continuo. After the pitch and duration of all notes were verified, the clefs were adjusted in keeping with modern usage. In a number of places, the text underlay was not consistent in the manuscript. The text was adjusted in order to make it consistent based on syllabic inflection. Courtesy accidentals were placed according to the manuscript. Due to a number of accidentals changing across bar lines, additional courtesy accidentals were inserted for clarity. The text within the manuscript had little punctuation. Commas were inserted according to Ron Jeffers' "Translations and Annotations of Choral Repertoire: Vol. 1: Sacred Latin Texts," and between repeated statements of text.[137]

In Telemann's manuscript, there are no dynamic markings. I consciously chose not to place any editorial dynamic markings for two primary reasons. First, the Baroque concept of terraced dynamics should guide the performance. Generally, the addition and subtraction of parts will account for both *crescendo* and *decrescendo*. One caveat, however, with regards to terraced dynamics. When all voices are singing, care should be taken by the performers to insure that the chorale melody, if it appears, will be heard. Second, note values, text, and mode often provide an indication of the dynamic level. For

[137] Ron Jeffers, *Translations and Annotations of Choral Repertoire: Vol. 1: Sacred Latin Texts* (Corvallis, OR: earthsongs, 1988), 48-50. Additional volumes containing German Texts, French & Italian texts, and Hebrew texts. The translations are presented in both word for word and sentence format. The annotations provide information about the origin/author of the text.

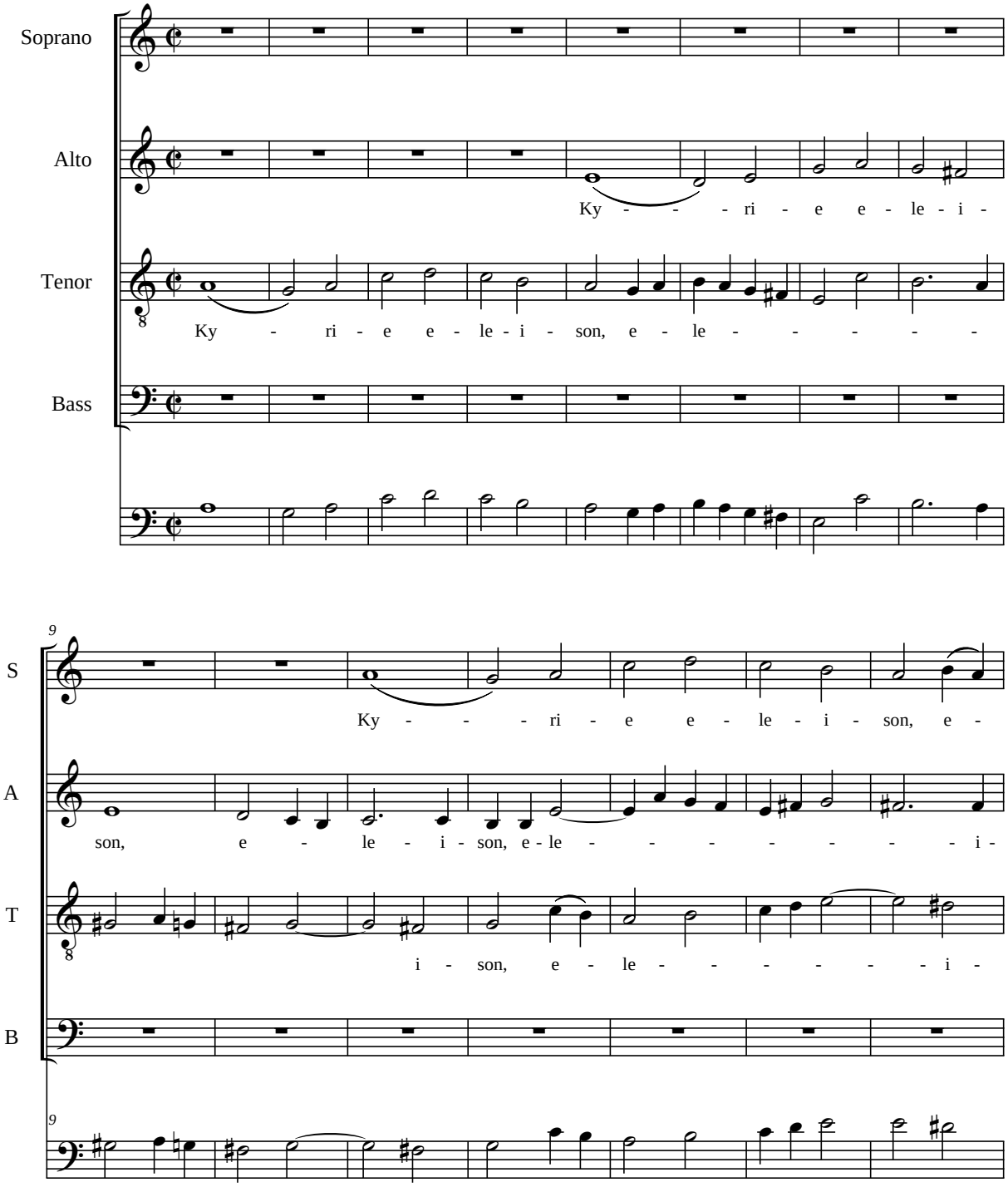
example, at the text *Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* (Thou that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us) in the *Gloria*, Telemann shifts from short motivic statements to several measures of quarter notes. In addition, there is also a move to a minor mode. These two factors suggest a prayerful and, therefore, softer dynamic level.

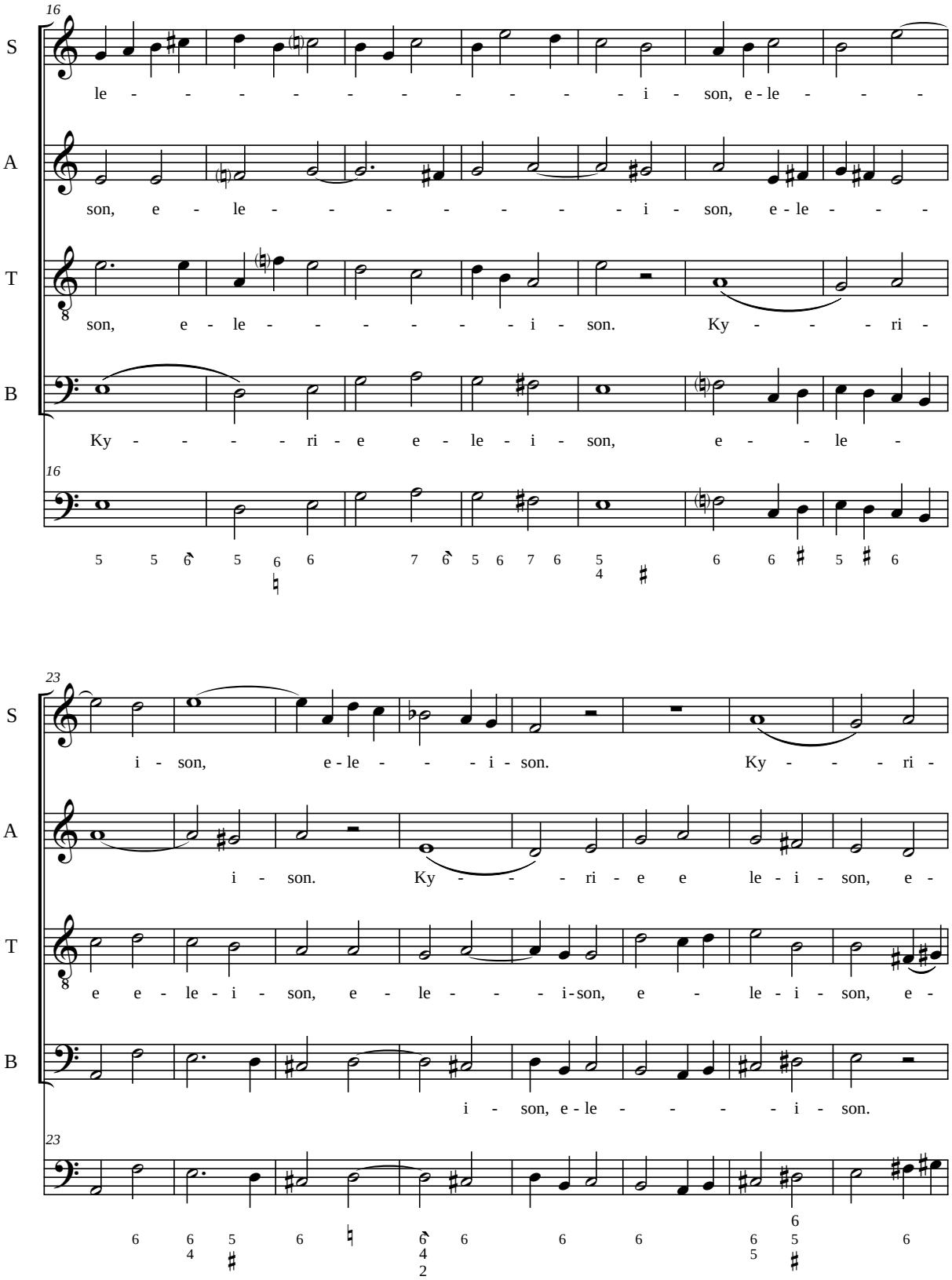
Missa Christ lag in Todesbanden

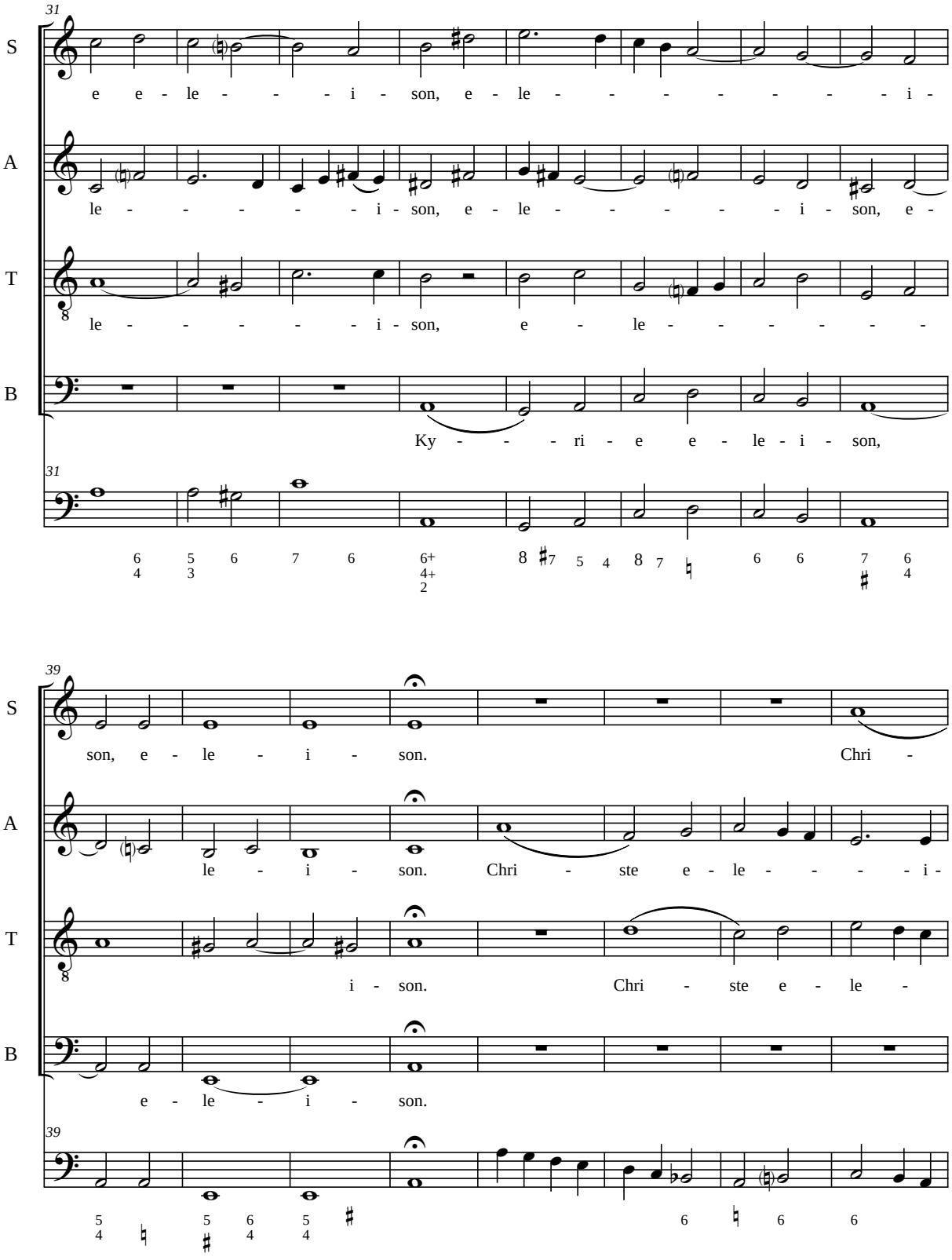
(TWV 9:3)

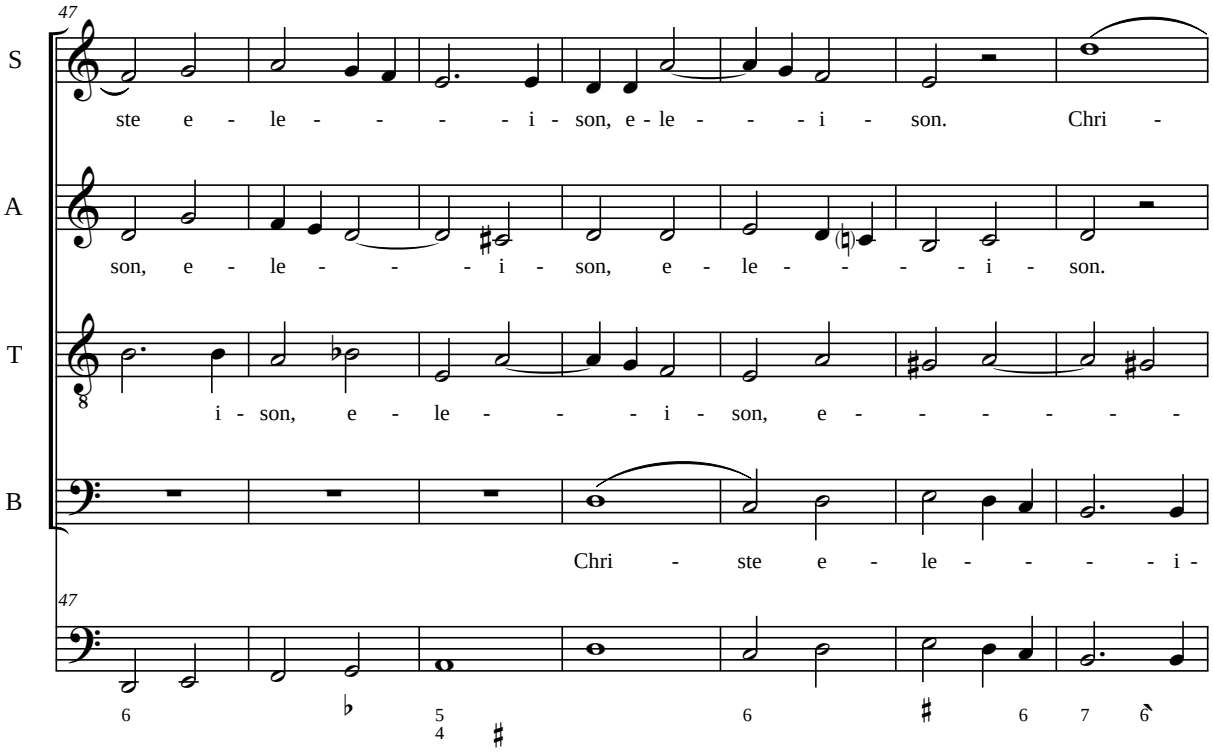
I. *Kyrie*

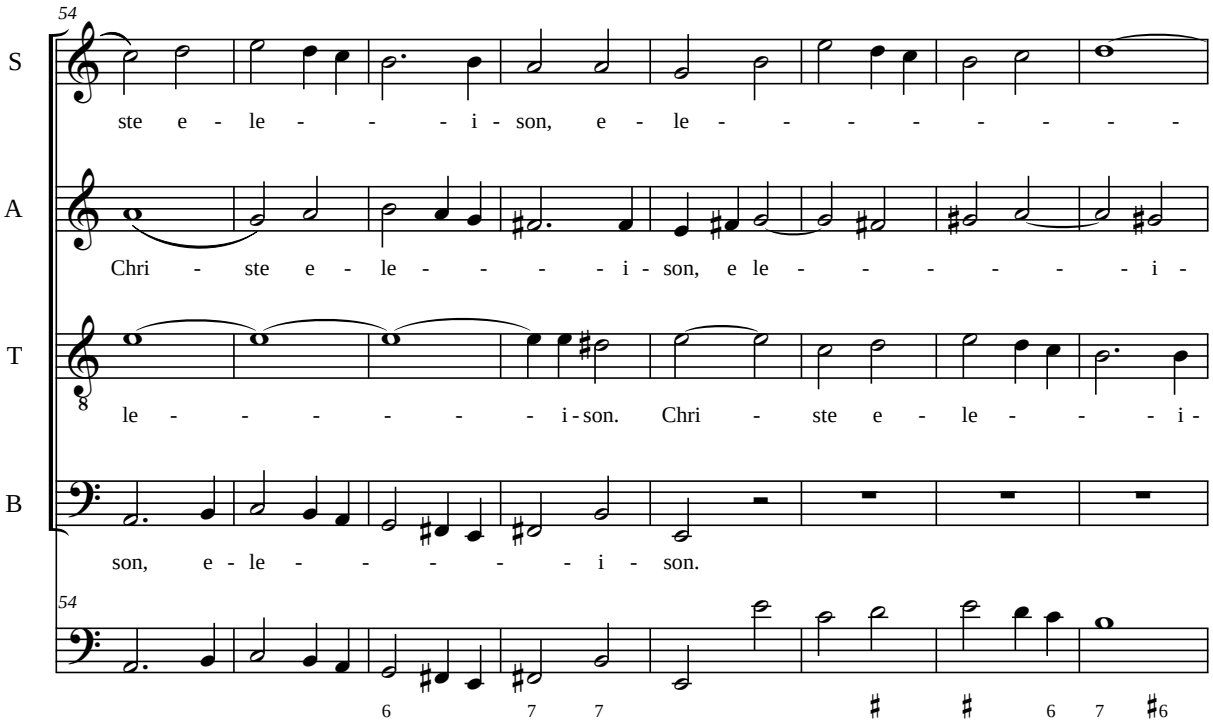
Georg Philipp Telemann
ed. Monte Garrett

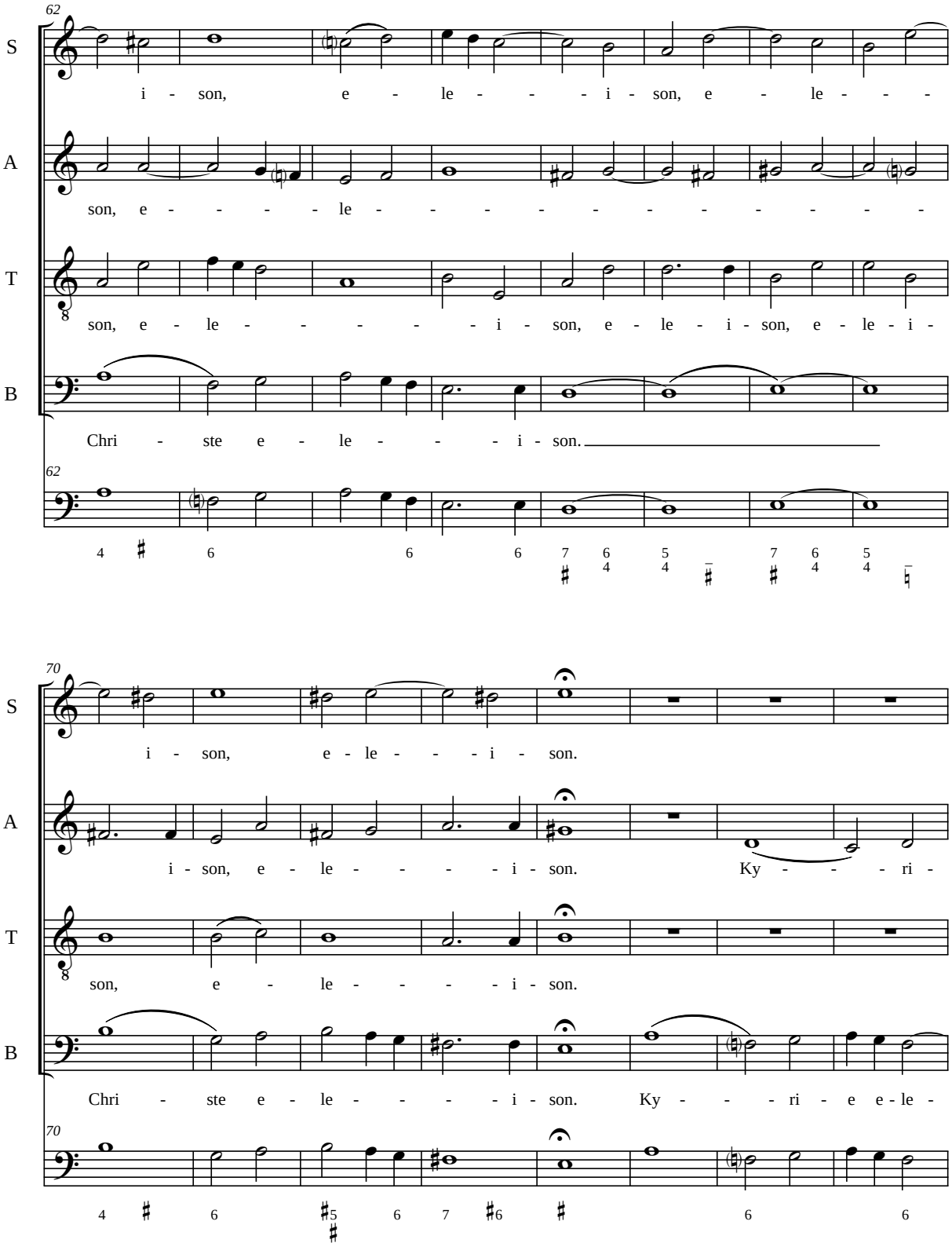


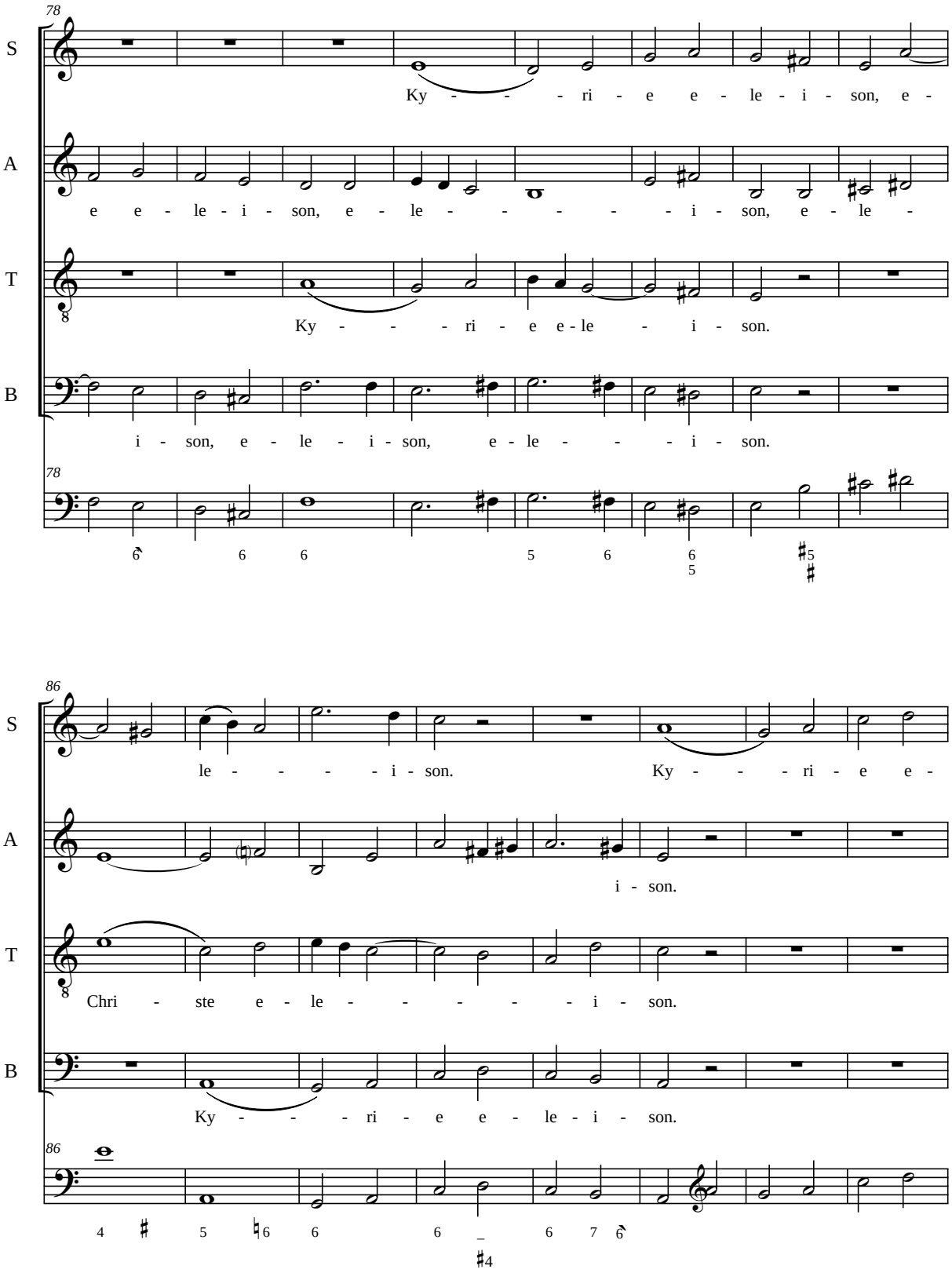

16
S
le - - - - - - - - - - - - i - son, e - le - - - -
A
son, e - le - - - - - - - - - i - son, e - le - - - -
T
son, e - le - - - - - - - - i - son. Ky - - - - ri -
B
Ky - - - - - ri - e e - le - i - son, e - - - le -
16
23
S
i - son, e - le - - - - i - son. Ky - - - - ri -
A
i - son. Ky - - - - ri - e e le - i - son, e -
T
e e - le - i - son, e - le - - - - i - son, e - le - i - son, e -
B
i - son, e - le - - - - - - i - son.
23

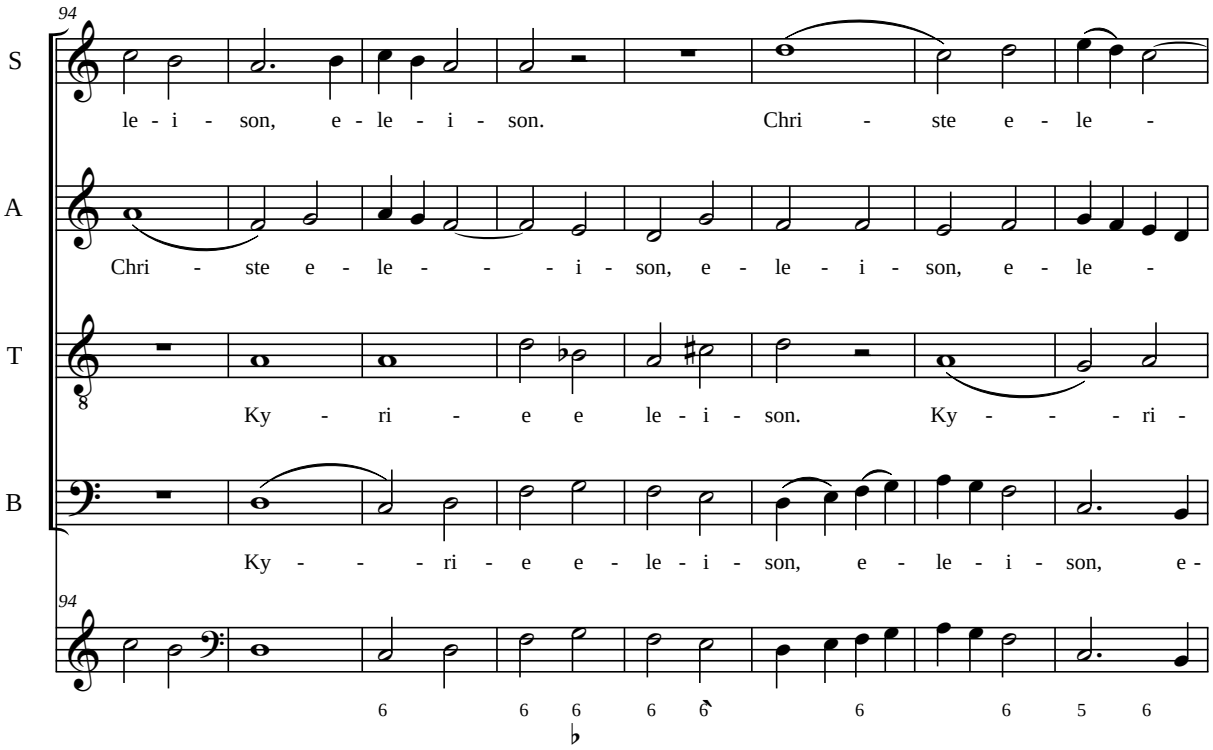

31
S
e e - le - - - - i - son, e - le - - - - - - - - i -
A
le - - - - - - i - son, e - le - - - - - - i - son, e -
T
le - - - - - - i - son, e - le - - - - - - -
B
Ky - - - ri - e e - le - i - son,
31
39
S
son, e - le - i - son. Chri -
A
le - i - son. Chri - ste e - le - - - - - i -
T
i - son. Chri - ste e - le -
B
e - le - i - son.
39

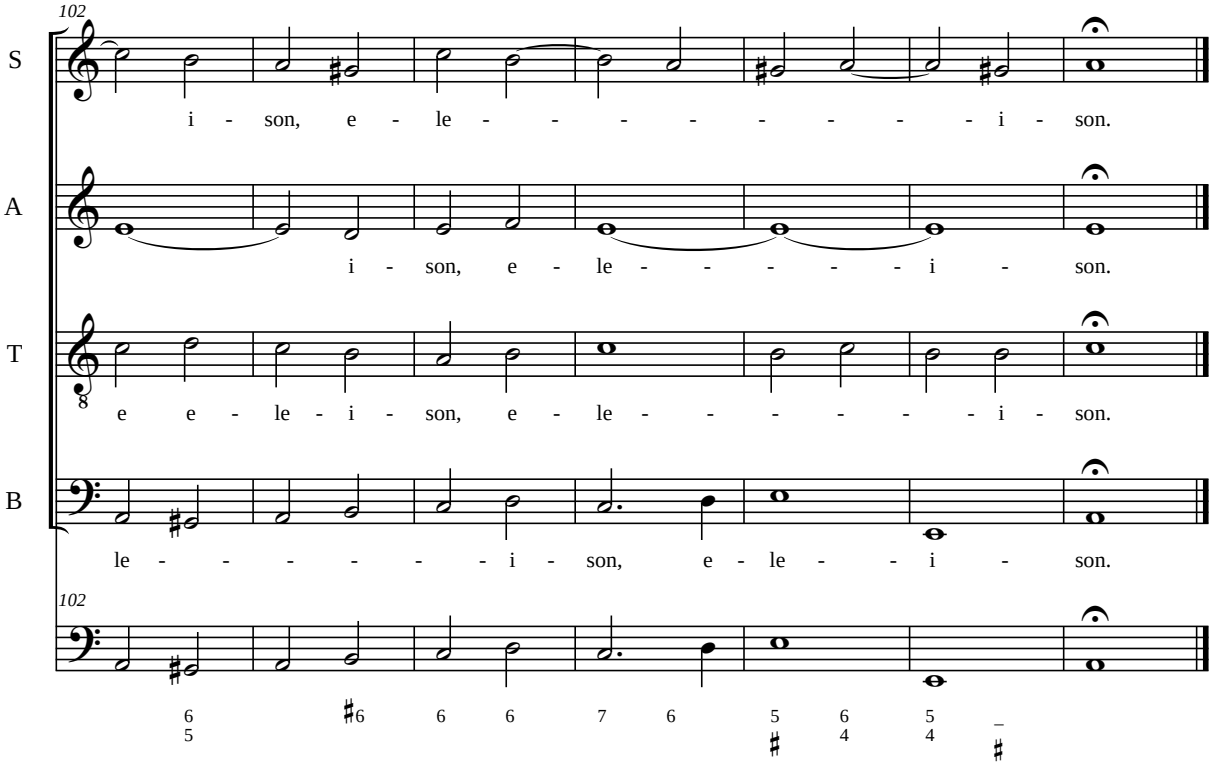

47
S
ste e - le - - - - - i - son, e - le - - - i - son. Chri -
A
son, e - le - - - - i - son, e - le - - - - - i - son.
T
i - son, e - le - - - i - son, e - - - - - - -
B
Chri - ste e - le - - - - - i -
47


54
S
ste e - le - - - - i - son, e - le - - - - - - - - -
A
Chri - ste e - le - - - - - i - son, e le - - - - - - - i -
T
le - - - - - - - i - son. Chri - ste e - le - - - i -
B
son, e - le - - - - - - i - son.
54

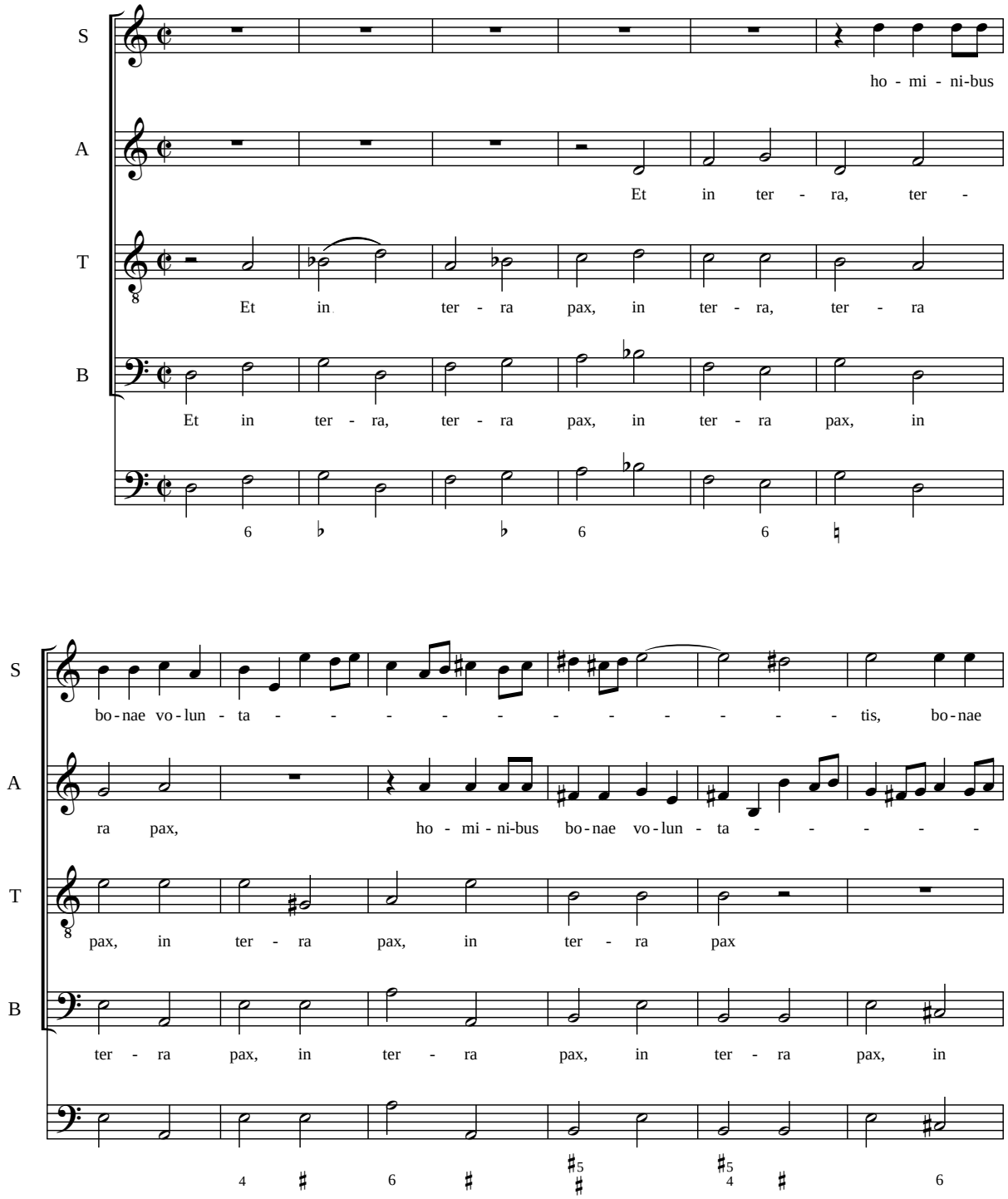

62
S
i - son, e - le - - - i - son, e - le - - -
A
son, e - - - - - le - - - - - - - - - - - -
T
son, e - le - - - - - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le - i -
B
Chri - ste e - le - - - i - son.
62
70
S
i - son, e - le - - - i - son.
A
i - son, e - le - - - - i - son. Ky - - - ri -
T
son, e - le - - - - i - son.
B
Chri - ste e - le - - - - i - son. Ky - - - ri - e e - le -
70

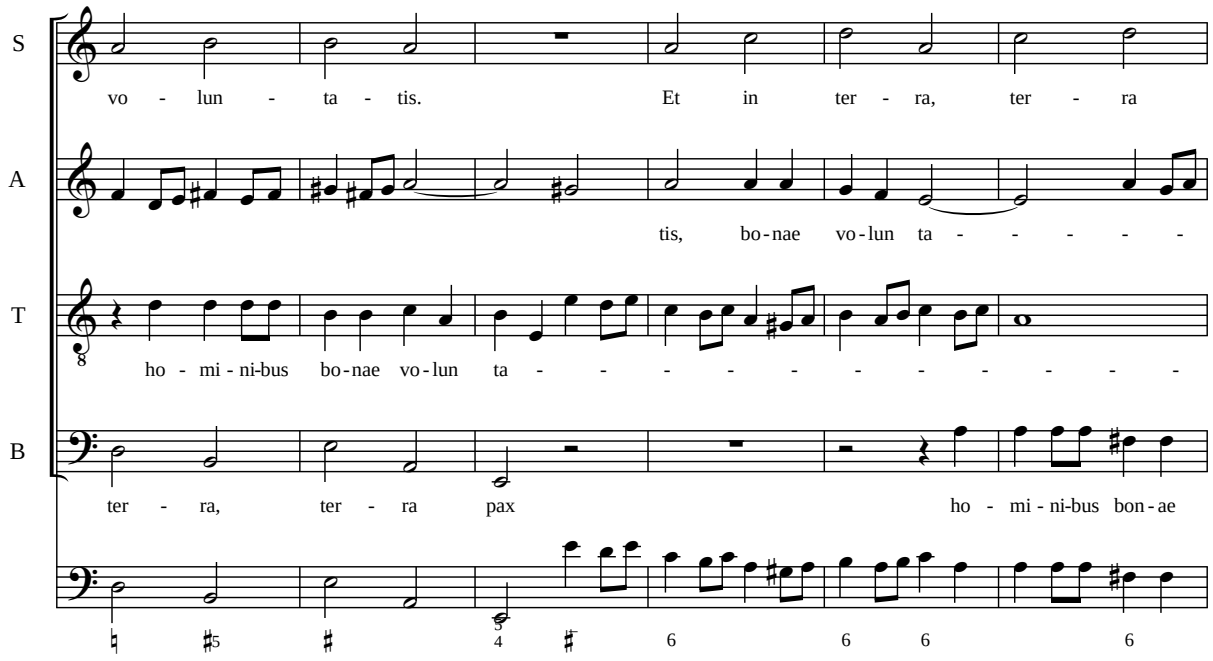

78
S
Ky - - - - ri - e e - le - i - son, e -
A
e e - le - i - son, e - le - - - - - - i - son, e - le -
T
Ky - - - ri - e e - le - i - son.
B
i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le - - - i - son.
78
86
S
le - - - - - i - son. Ky - - - ri - e e -
A
i - son.
T
Chri - ste e - le - - - - - - i - son.
B
Ky - - - ri - e e - le - i - son.
86

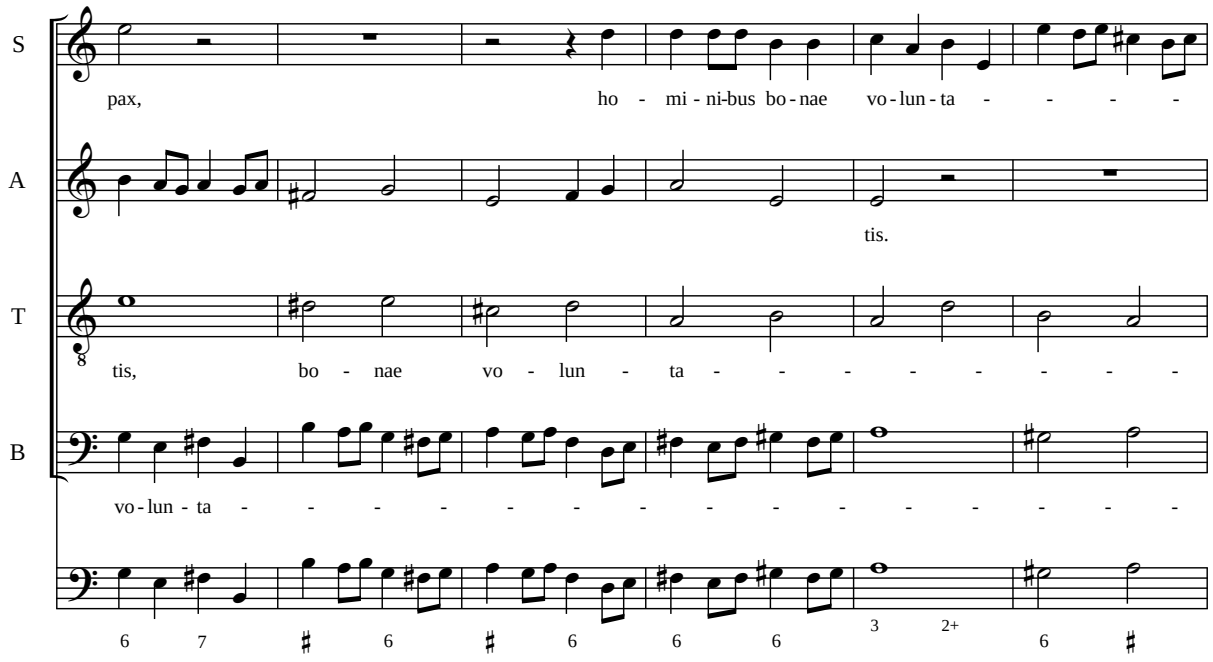

94
S
le - i - son, e - le - i - son. Chri - ste e - le -
A
Chri - ste e - le - - - i - son, e - le - i - son, e - le -
T
Ky - ri - e e le - i - son. Ky - - - ri -
B
Ky - - - ri - e e - le - i - son, e - le - i - son, e -
94

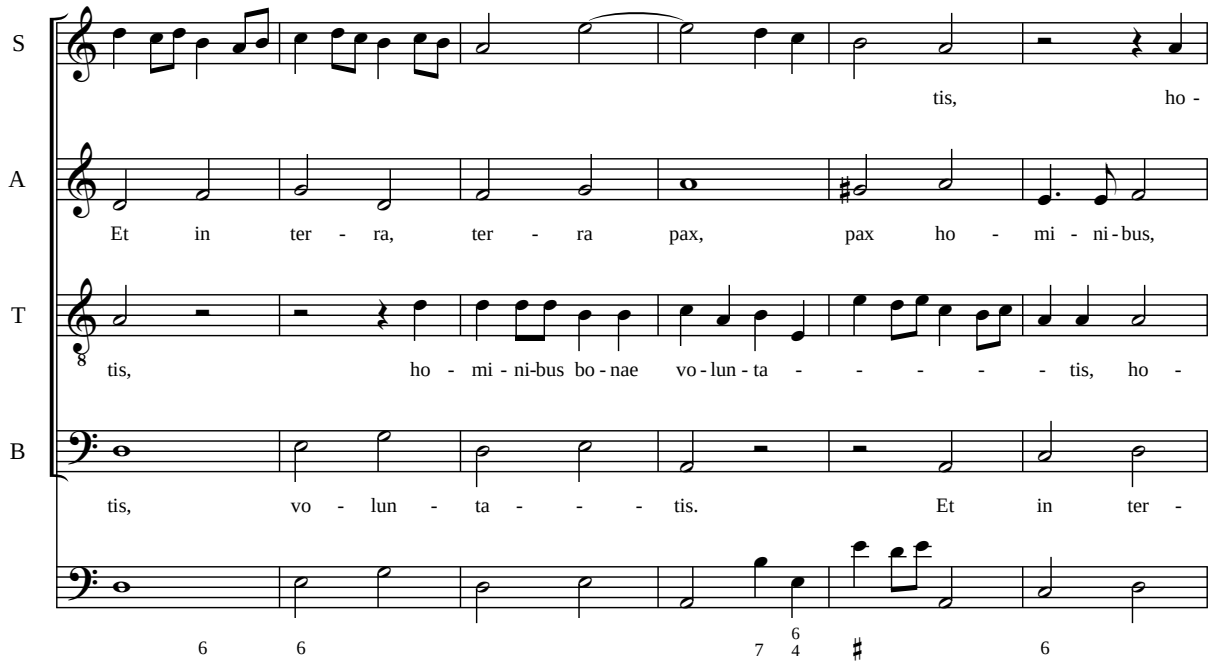

102
S
i - son, e - le - - - - - - - - i - son.
A
i - son, e - le - - - - - i - son.
T
e e - le - i - son, e - le - - - - - - i - son.
B
le - - - - - - i - son, e - le - - i - son.
102

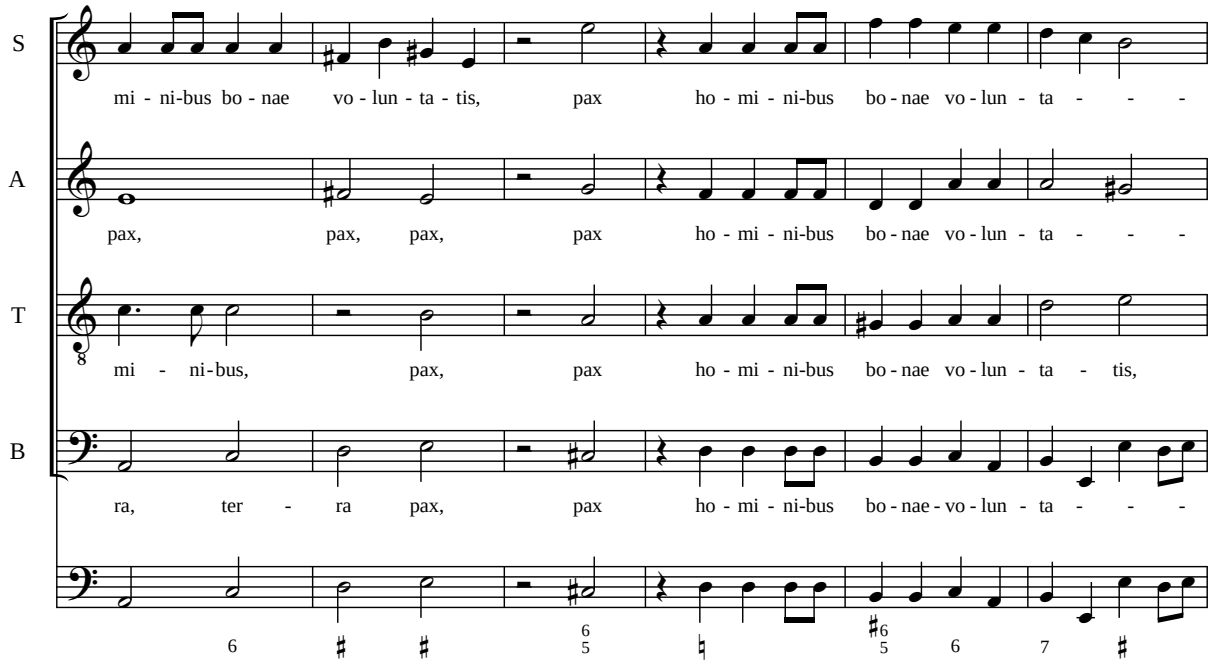
II. *Gloria in excelsis Deo*

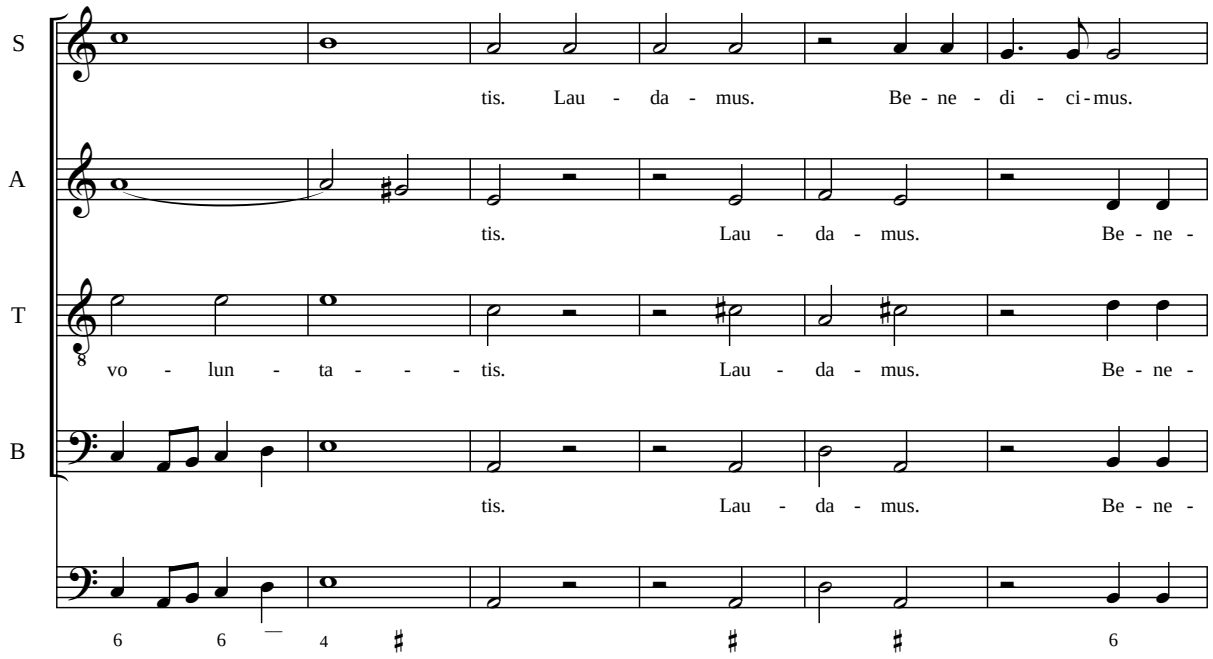


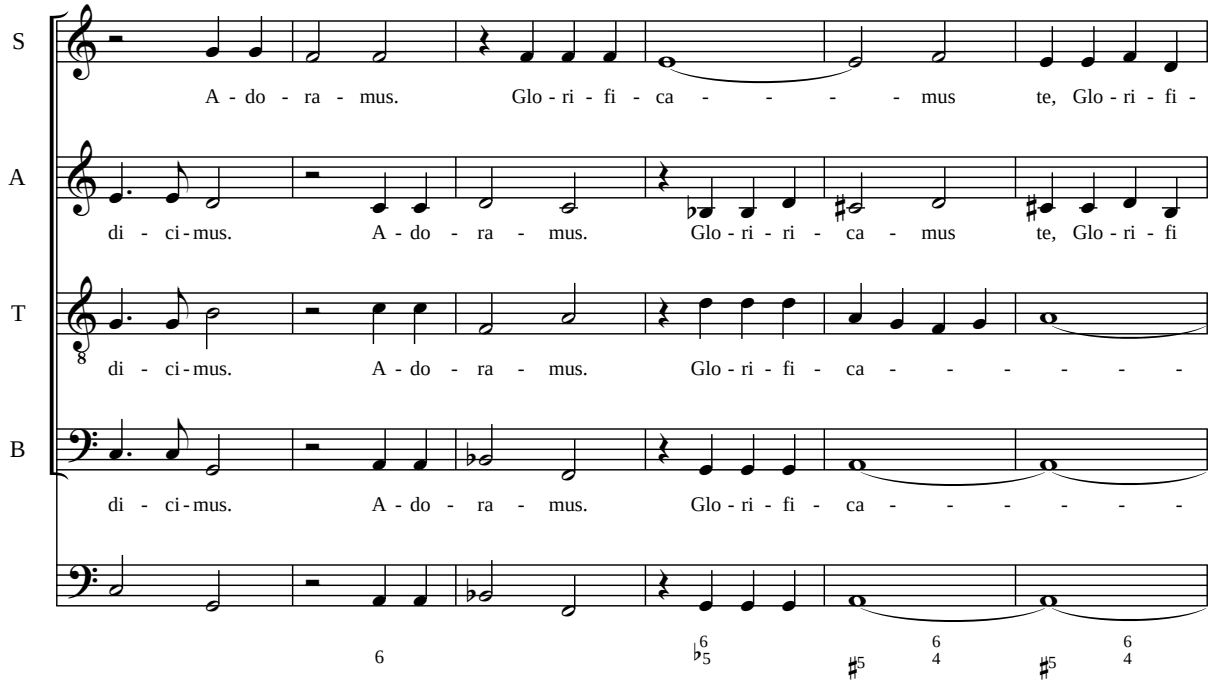

S
vo - lun - ta - tis. Et in ter - ra, ter - ra
A
tis, bo-nae vo-lun ta - - - - -
T
ho - mi - ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun ta - - - - - - - - - - -
B
ter - ra, ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni-bus bon-ae

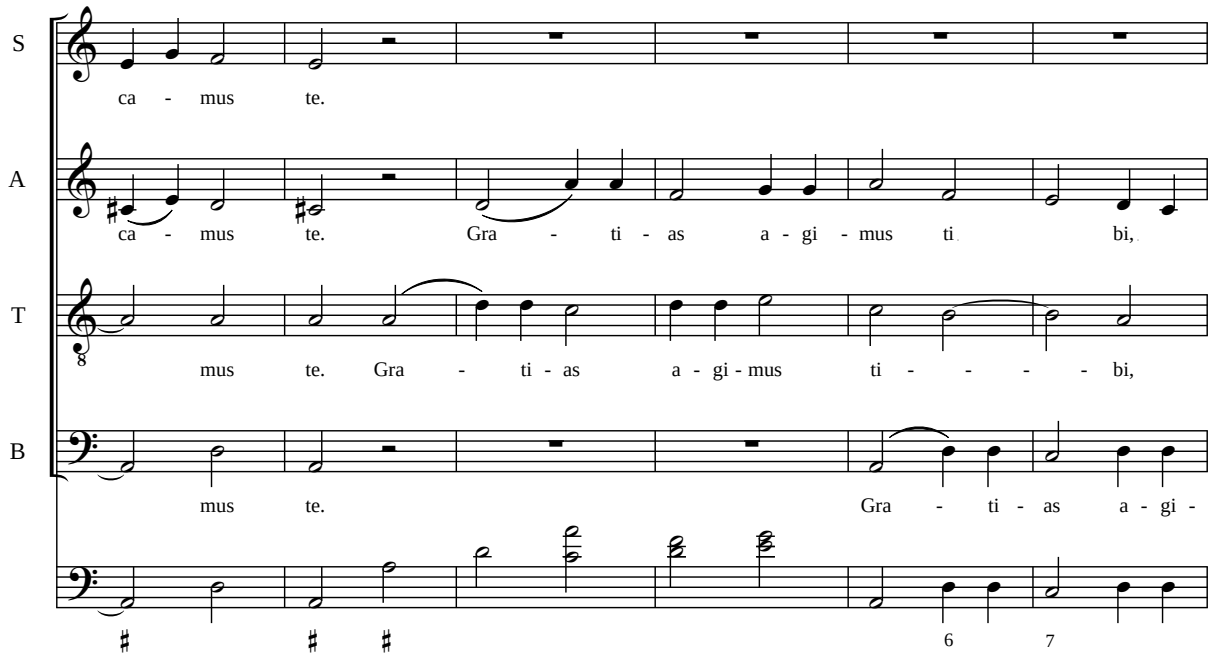

S
pax, ho - mi - ni-bus bo-nae vo-lun-ta - - - -
A
tis.
T
tis, bo - nae vo - lun - ta - - - - - - - -
B
vo-lun - ta - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

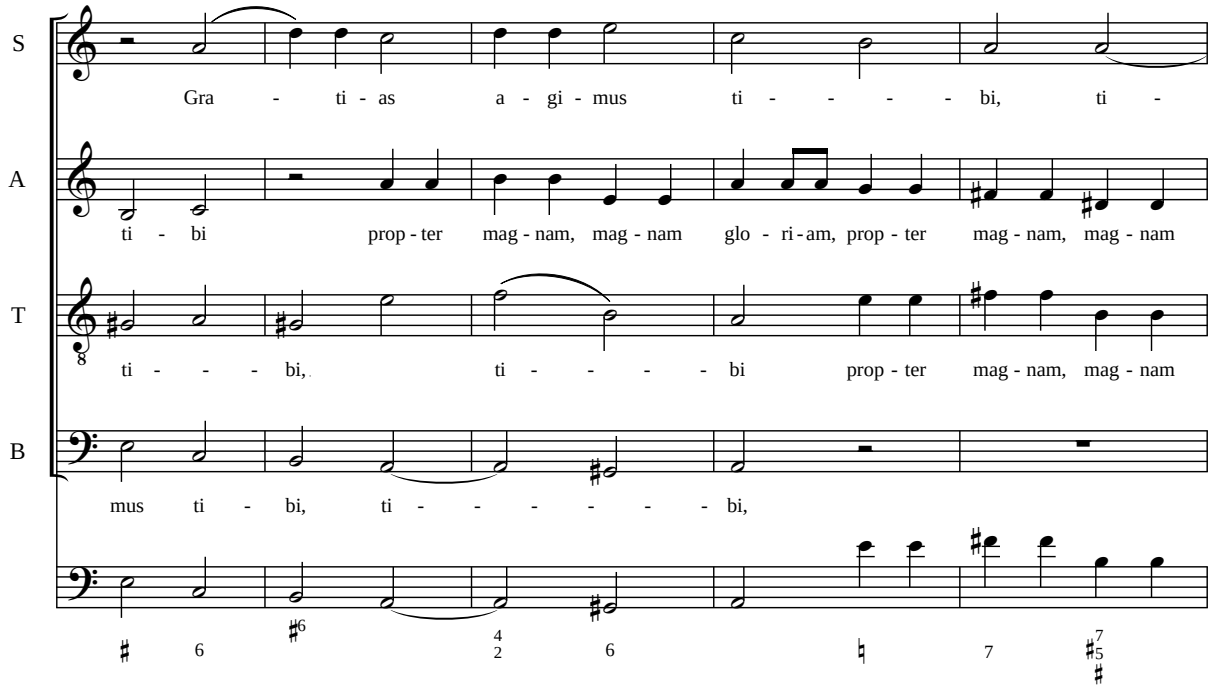

S
tis, ho -
A
Et in ter - ra, ter - ra pax, pax ho - mi - ni - bus,
T
tis, ho - mi - ni-bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - - - - - tis, ho -
B
tis, vo - lun - ta - - - tis. Et in ter -

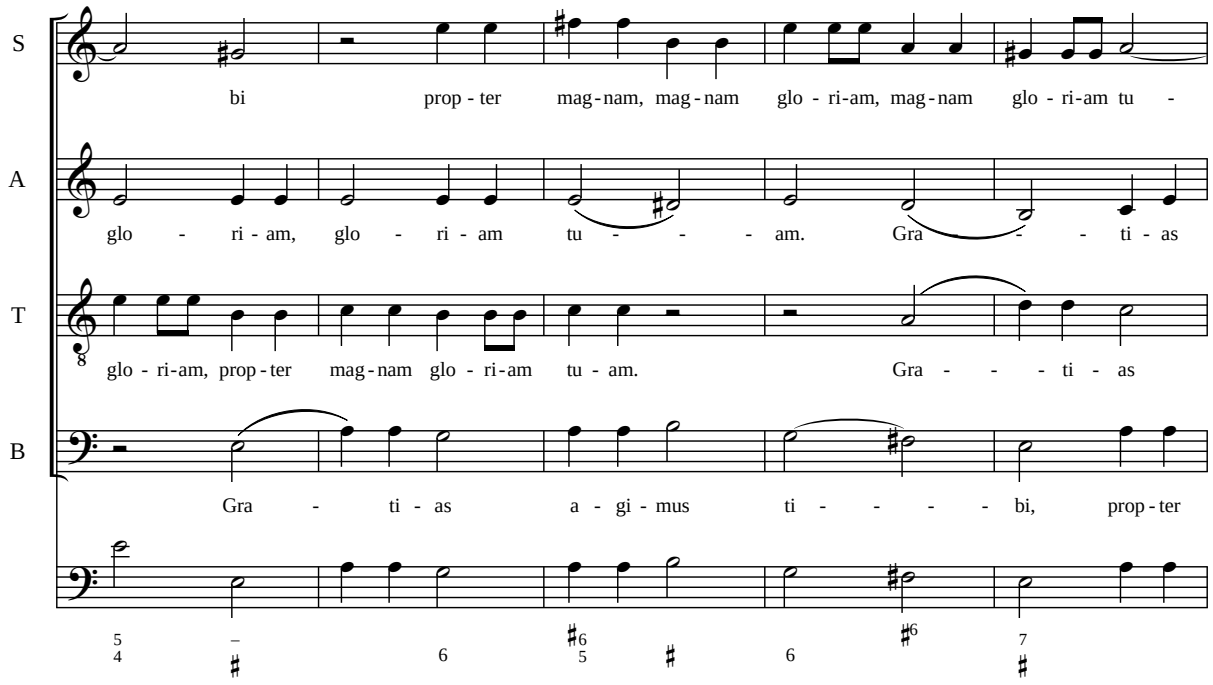

S
mi - ni-bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis, pax ho - mi - ni-bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - - -
A
pax, pax, pax, pax ho - mi - ni-bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - - -
T
mi - ni-bus, pax, pax ho - mi - ni-bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis,
B
ra, ter - ra pax, pax ho - mi - ni-bus bo - nae - vo - lun - ta - - -

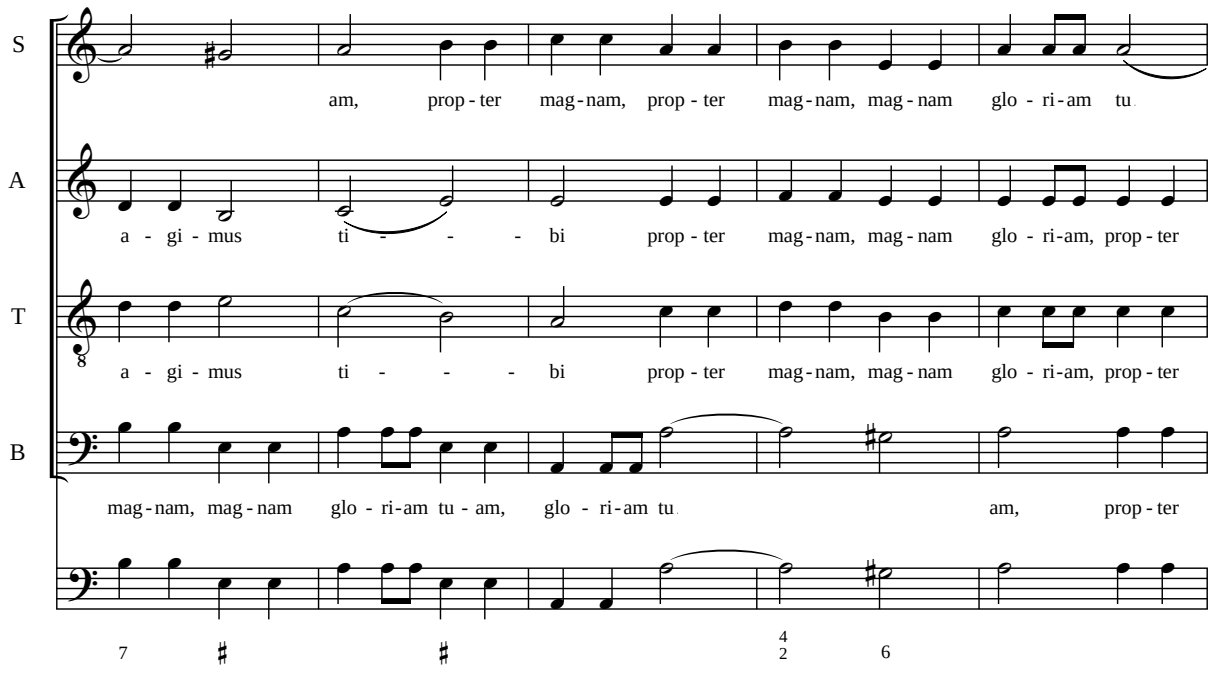

S
A
T
B
tis. Lau - da - mus. Be - ne - di - ci - mus.
tis. Lau - da - mus. Be - ne -
vo - lun - ta - - - tis. Lau - da - mus. Be - ne -
tis. Lau - da - mus. Be - ne -

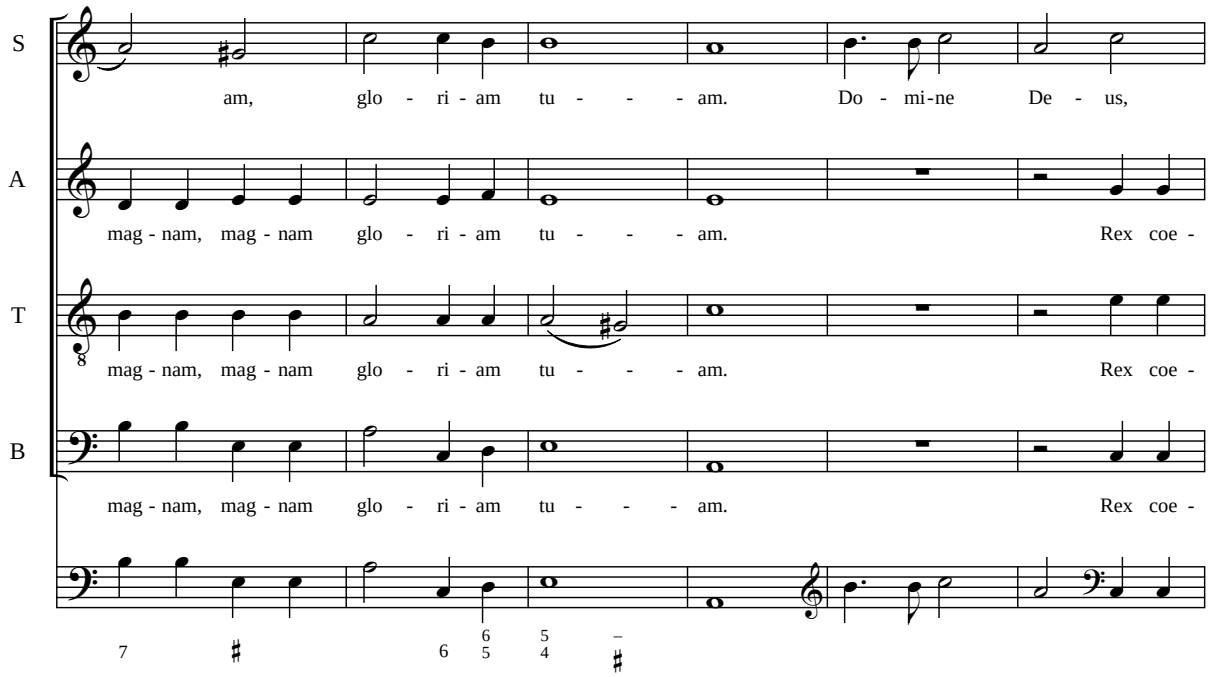

S
A
T
B
A - do - ra - mus. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - - - mus te, Glo - ri - fi -
di - ci - mus. A - do - ra - mus. Glo - ri - ri - ca - mus te, Glo - ri - fi
di - ci - mus. A - do - ra - mus. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - - - - -
di - ci - mus. A - do - ra - mus. Glo - ri - fi - ca - - - - - - -

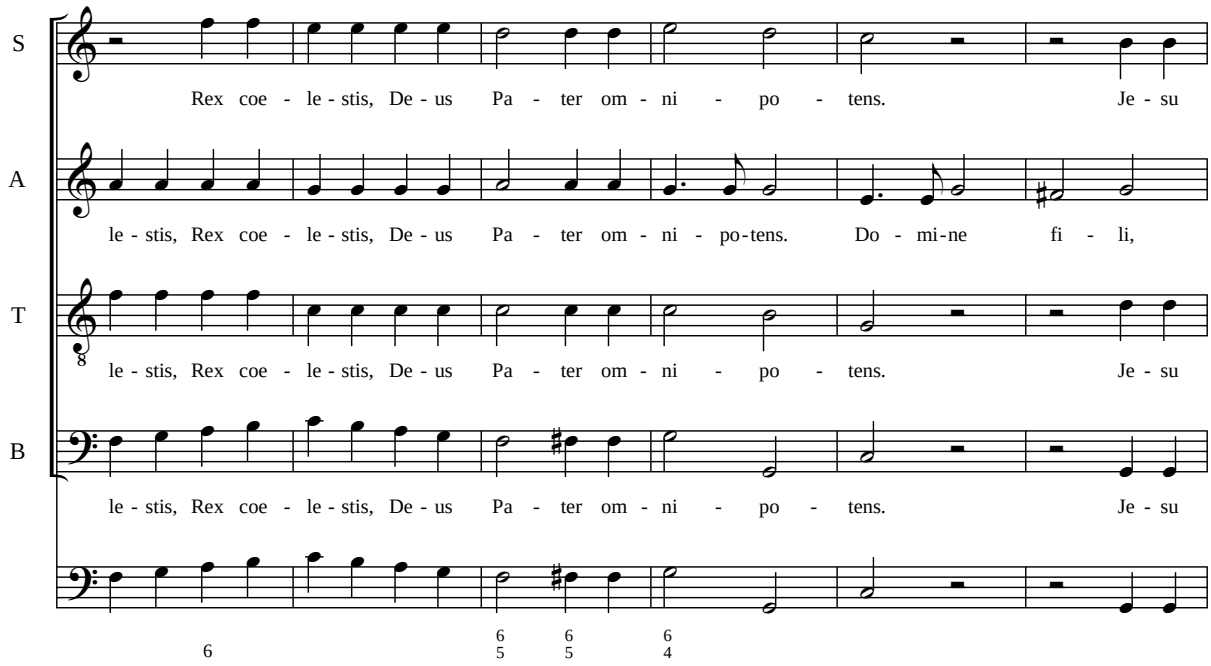

S
ca - mus te.
A
ca - mus te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti bi,
T
mus te. Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - - - - bi,
B
mus te. Gra - ti - as a - gi -

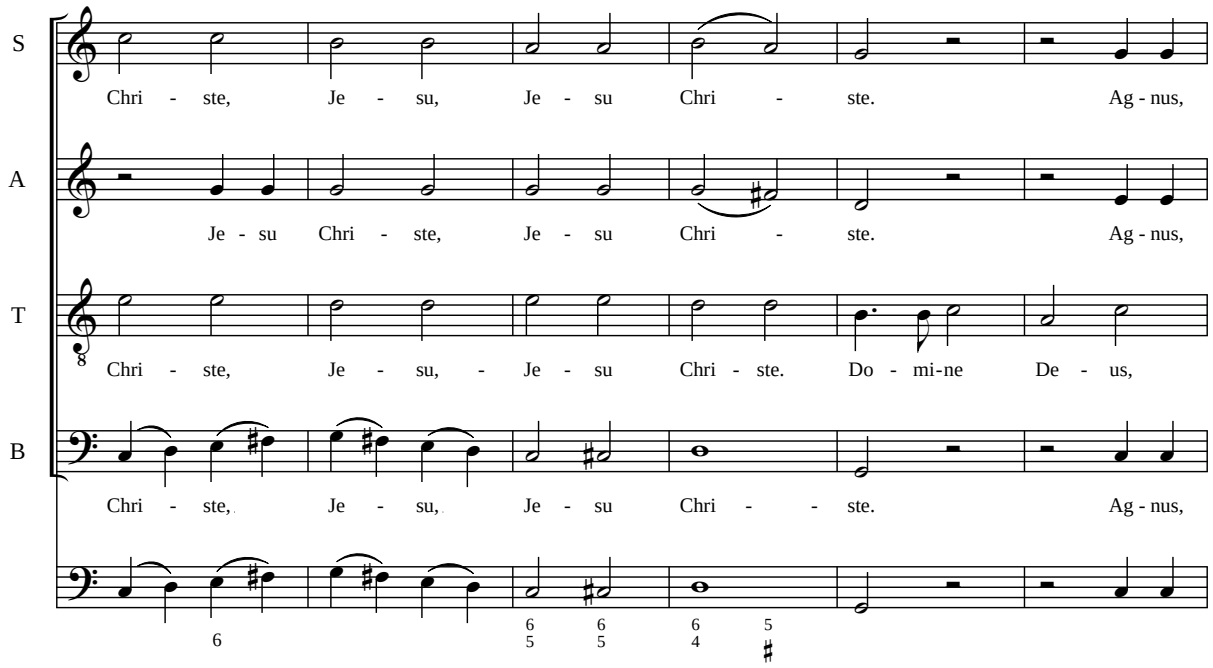

S
Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - - - - bi, ti -
A
ti - bi prop - ter mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am, prop - ter mag - nam, mag - nam
T
ti - - - bi, ti - - - - bi prop - ter mag - nam, mag - nam
B
mus ti - bi, ti - - - - - - bi,

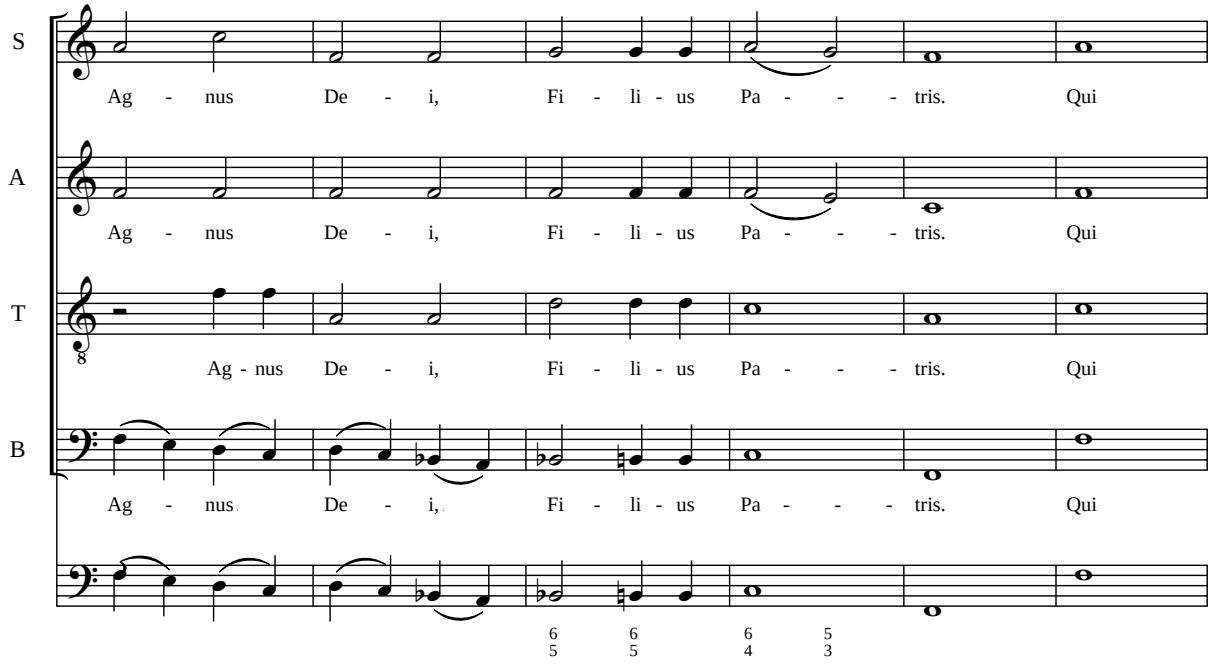

S
bi prop - ter mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am, mag - nam glo - ri - am tu -
A
glo - ri - am, glo - ri - am tu - - - am. Gra - - - ti - as
T
glo - ri - am, prop - ter mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am. Gra - - - ti - as
B
Gra - ti - as a - gi - mus ti - - - - - bi, prop - ter

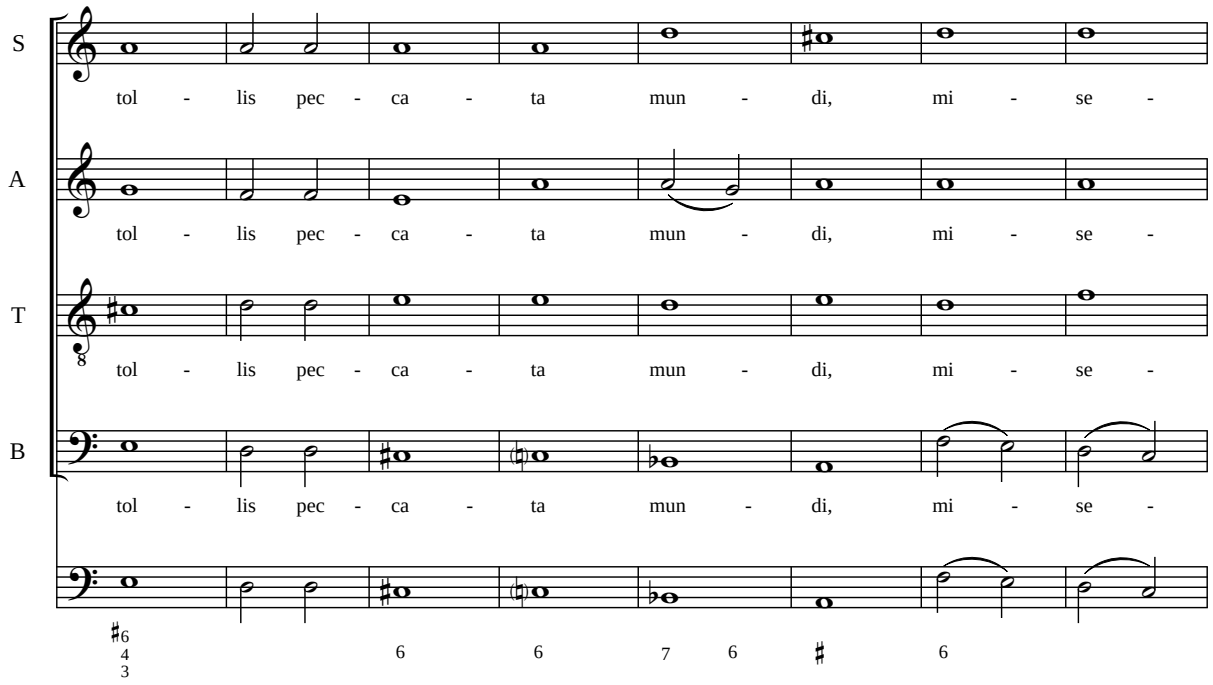

S
am, prop - ter mag - nam, prop - ter mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am tu
A
a - gi - mus ti - - - bi prop - ter mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am, prop - ter
T
a - gi - mus ti - - - bi prop - ter mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am, prop - ter
B
mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - am, glo - ri - am tu am, prop - ter

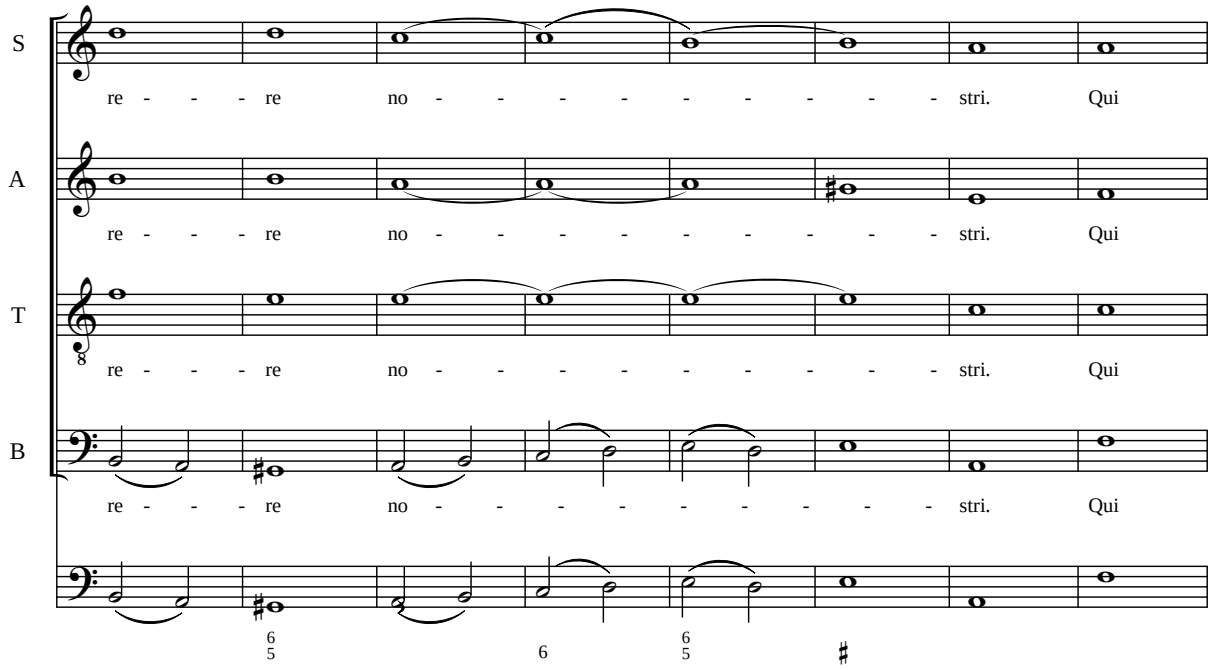

S
A
T
B
am, glo - ri - am tu - - - am. Do - mi-ne De - us,
mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - - - am. Rex coe -
mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - - - am. Rex coe -
mag - nam, mag - nam glo - ri - am tu - - - am. Rex coe -


S
A
T
B
Rex coe - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens. Je - su
le - stis, Rex coe - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po-tens. Do - mi-ne fi - li,
le - stis, Rex coe - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens. Je - su
le - stis, Rex coe - le - stis, De - us Pa - ter om - ni - po - tens. Je - su


S
Chri - ste, Je - su, Je - su Chri - ste. Ag - nus,
A
Je - su Chri - ste, Je - su Chri - ste. Ag - nus,
T
Chri - ste, Je - su, - Je - su Chri - ste. Do - mi-ne De - us,
B
Chri - ste, Je - su, Je - su Chri - - ste. Ag - nus,


S
Ag - nus De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris. Qui
A
Ag - nus De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris. Qui
T
Ag - nus De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris. Qui
B
Ag - nus De - i, Fi - li - us Pa - - - tris. Qui


S
A
T
B
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se -
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se -
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se -
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, mi - se -


S
A
T
B
re - - - re no - - - - - - - - - stri. Qui
re - - - re no - - - - - - - - - stri. Qui
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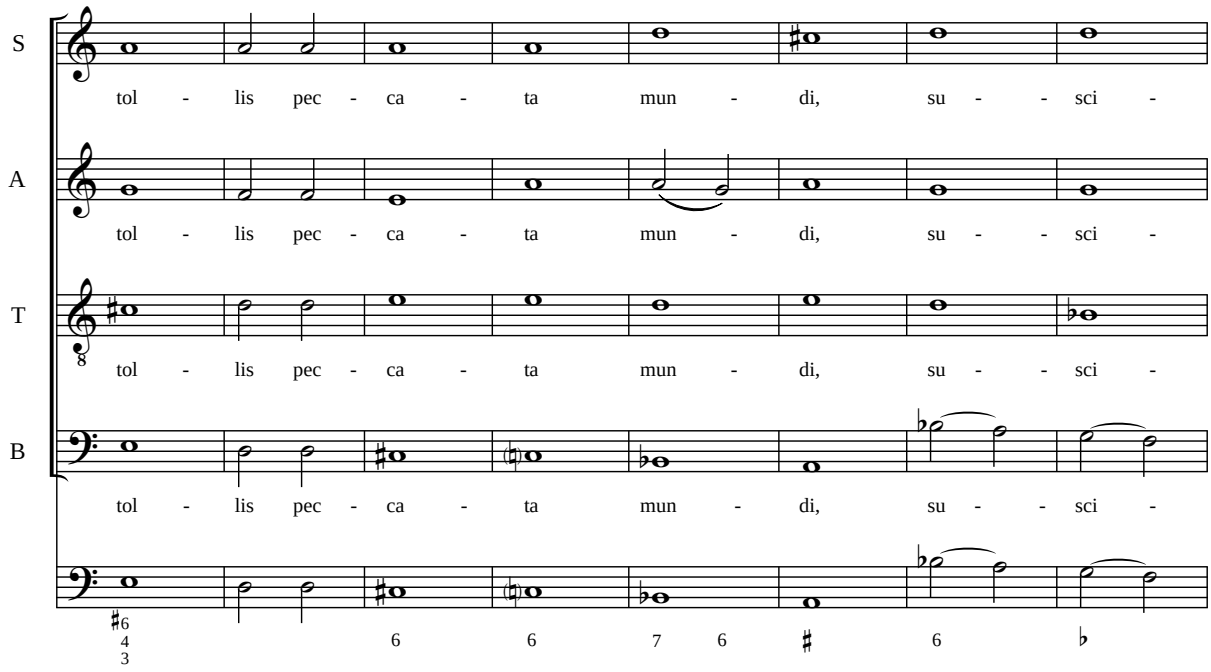
S
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T
B
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - - sci -
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - - sci -
tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, su - - sci -
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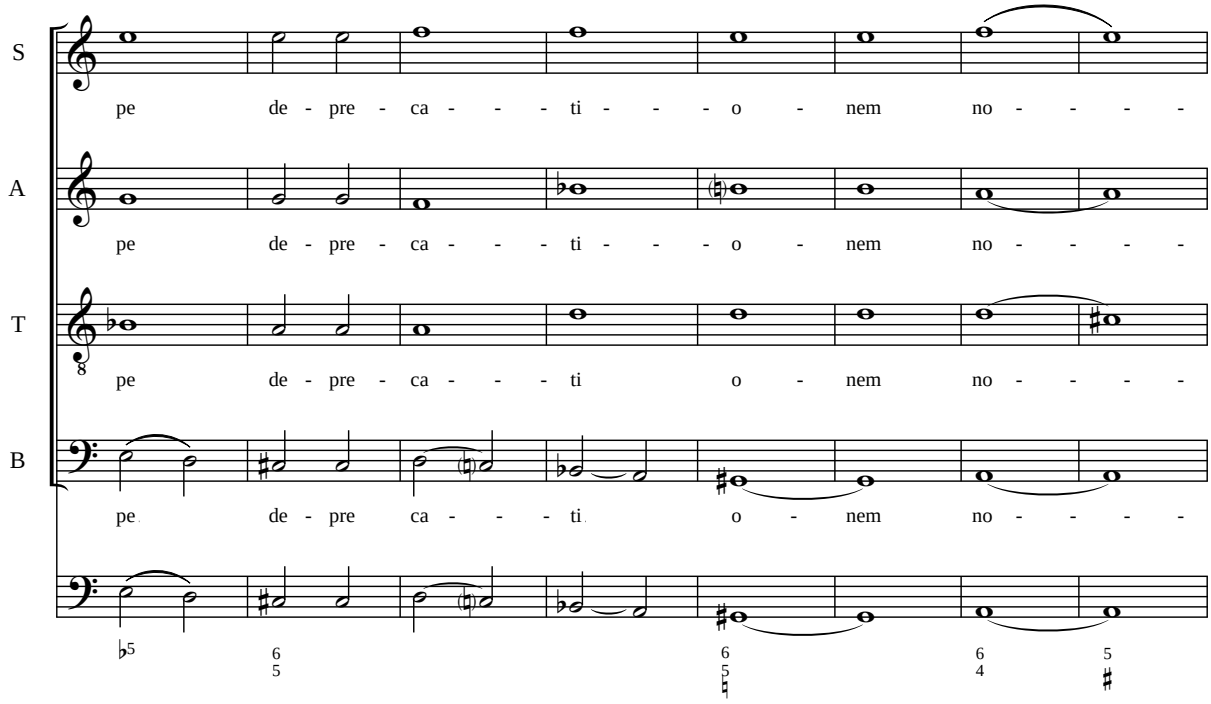
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pe de - pre - ca - - - ti - - - o - nem no - - - -
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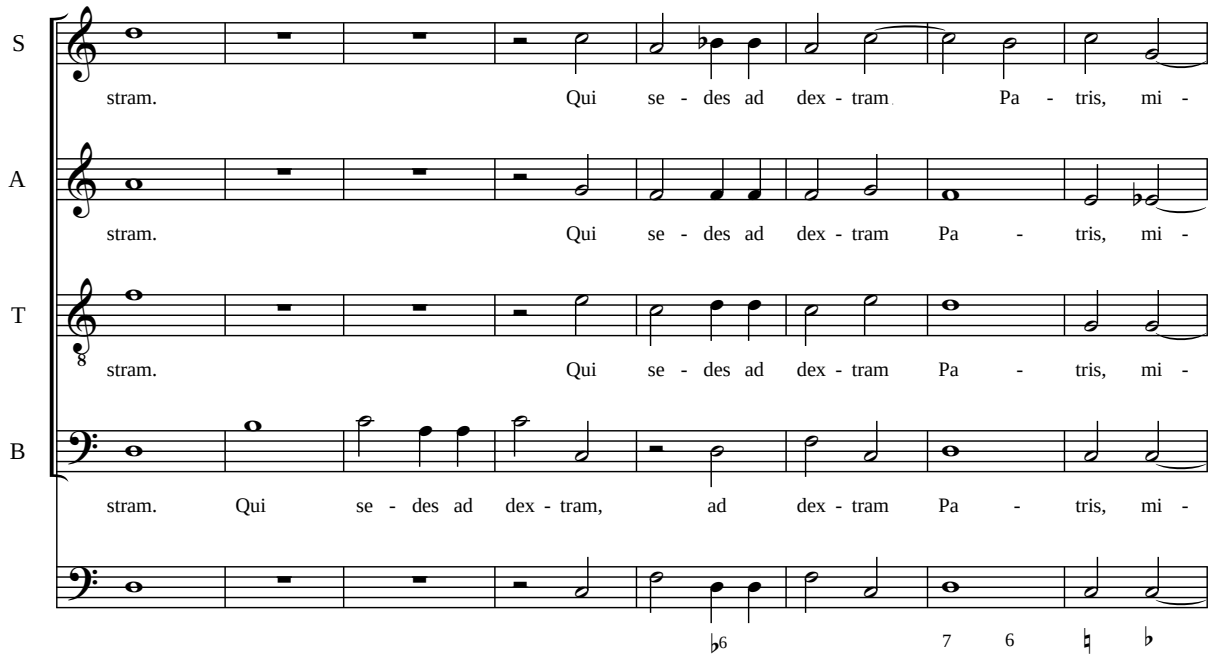
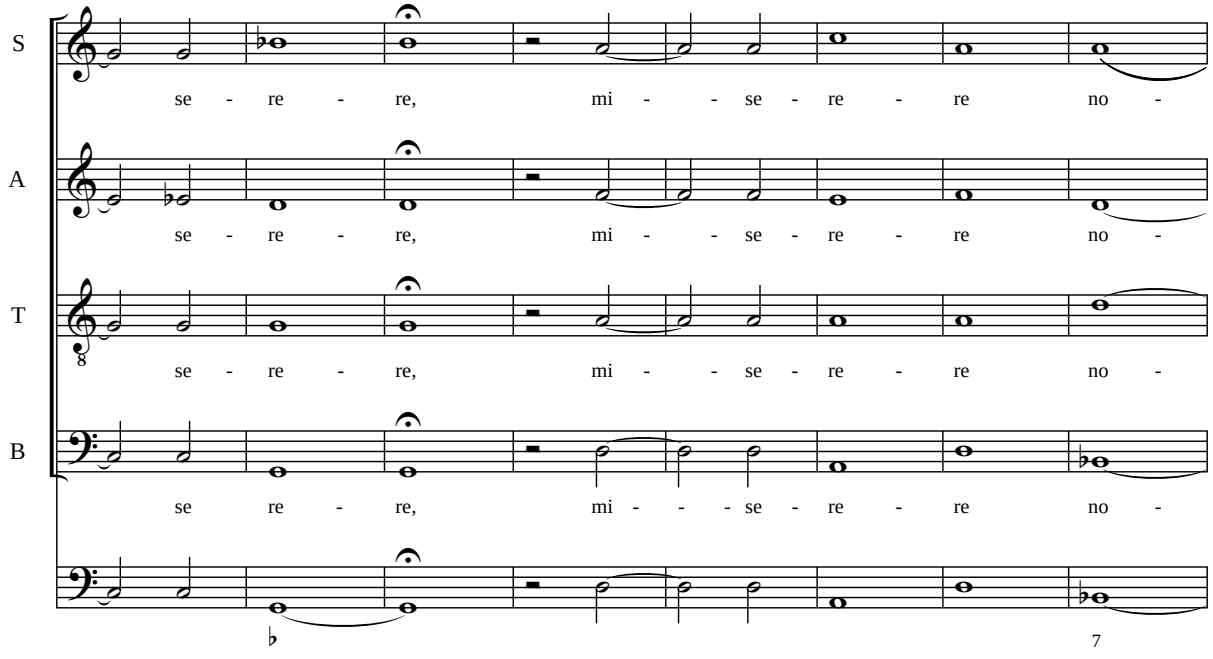
pe de - pre ca - - - ti o - nem no - - - -


S
A
T
B
stram. Qui se - des ad dex - tram Pa - tris, mi -
stram. Qui se - des ad dex - tram Pa - tris, mi -
stram. Qui se - des ad dex - tram Pa - tris, mi -
stram. Qui se - des ad dex - tram, ad dex - tram Pa - tris, mi -


S
A
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se - re - re, mi - - se - re - re no -
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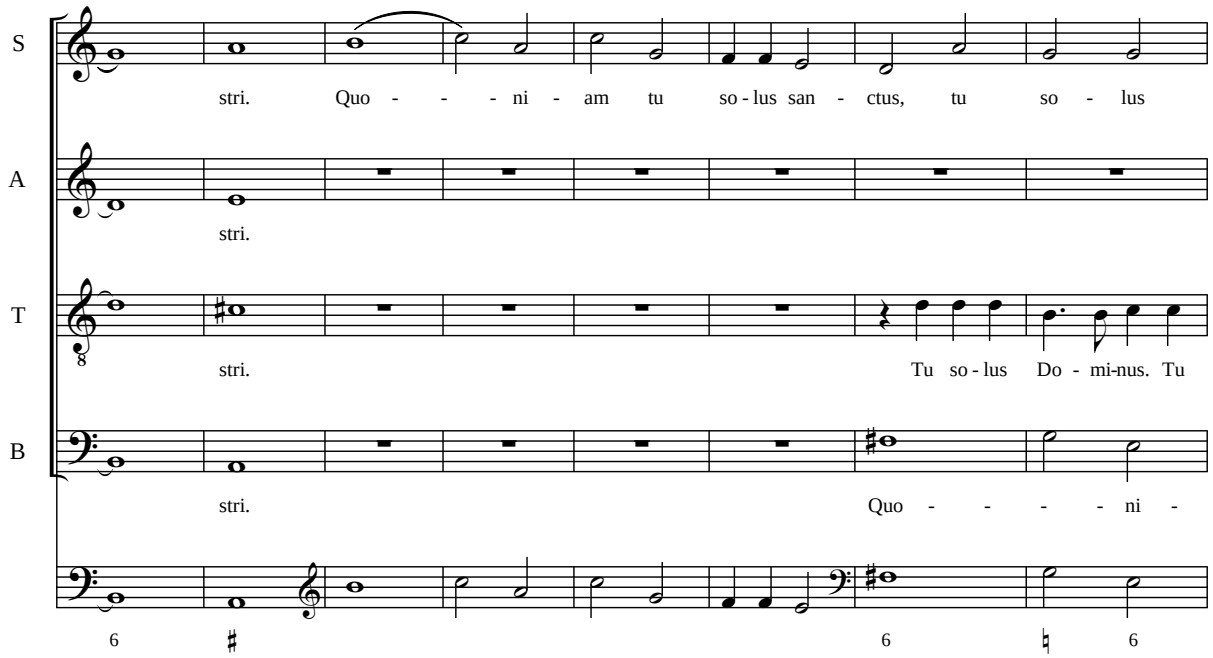
S
A
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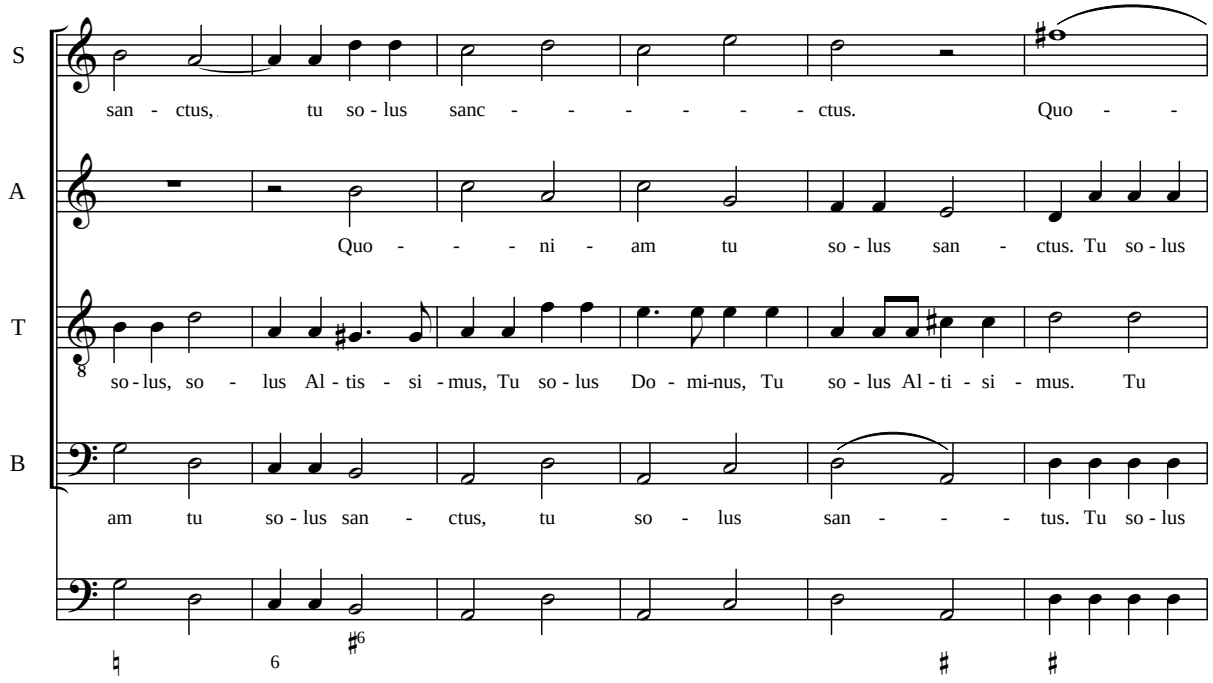
B
stri. Quo - - - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus, tu so - lus
stri.
stri. Tu so - lus Do - mi-nus. Tu
stri. Quo - - - - ni -


S
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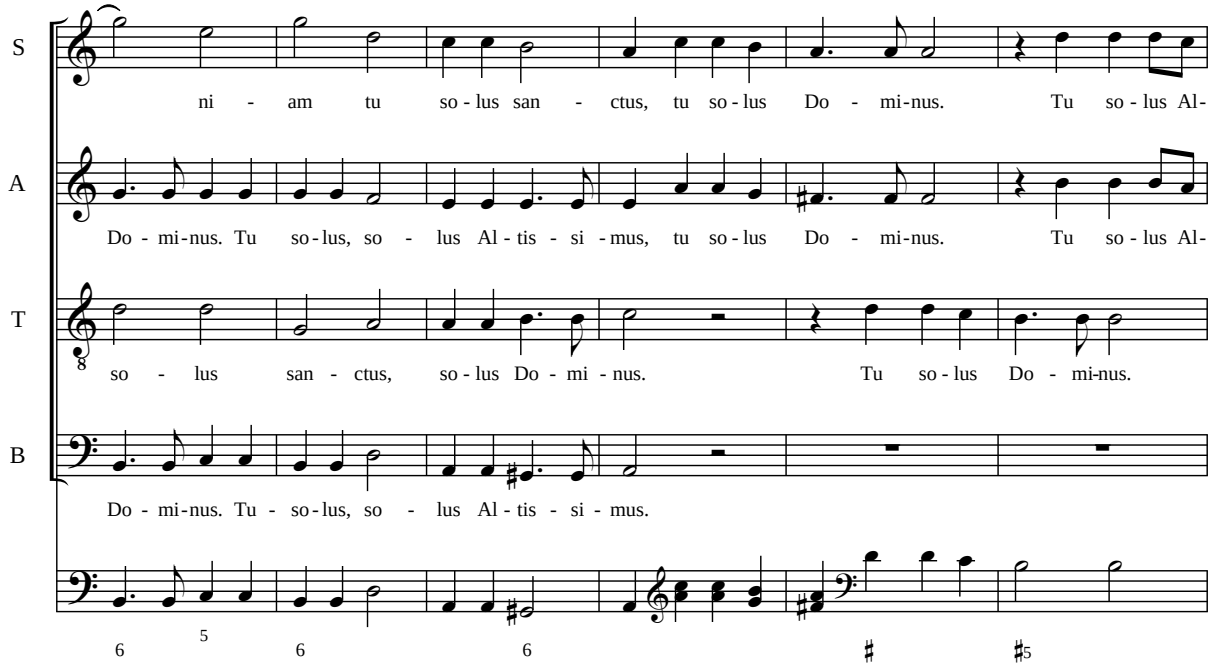
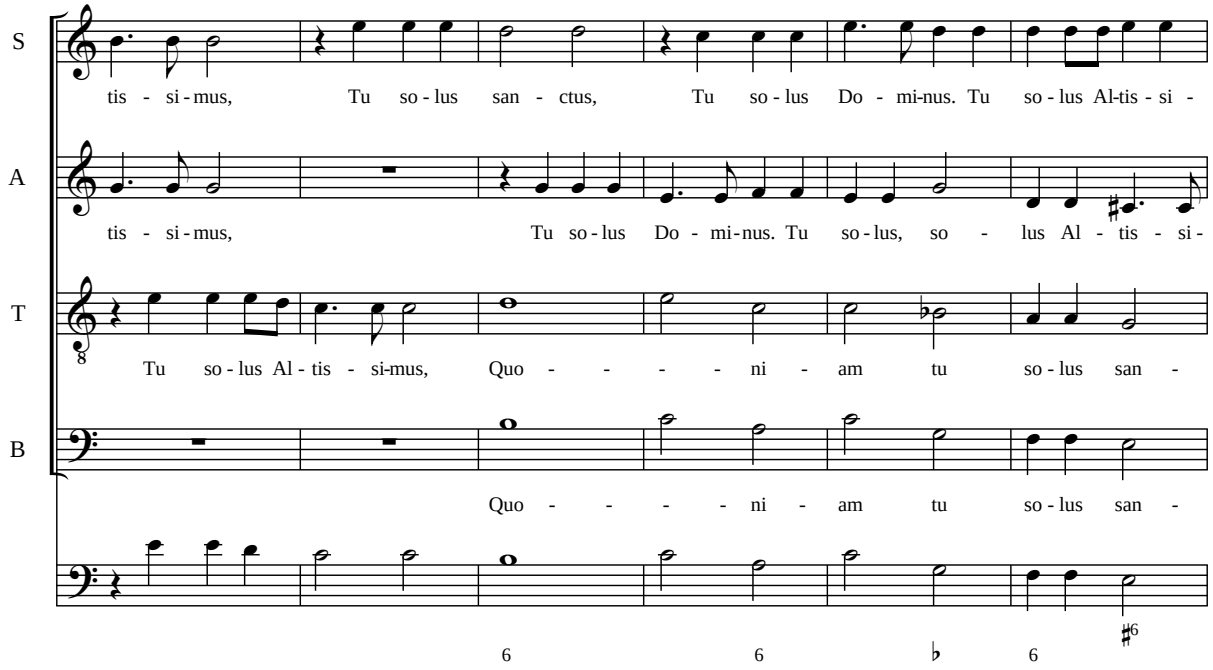
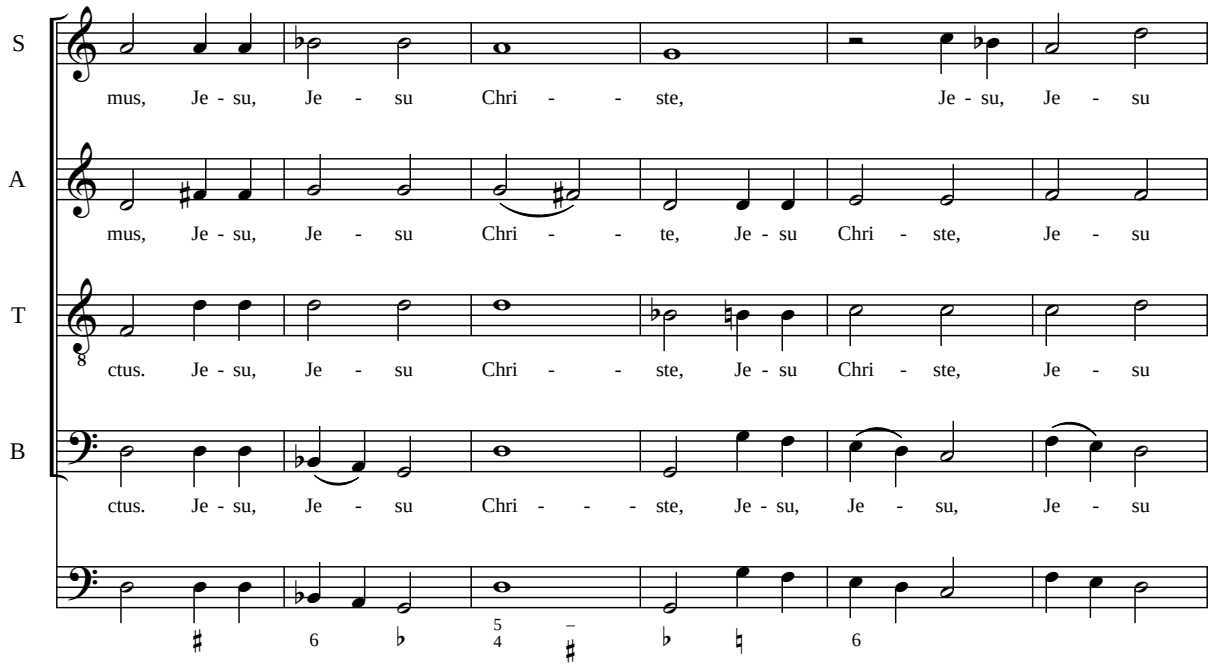
san - ctus, tu so - lus sanc - - - - - - ctus. Quo - -
Quo - - - ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus. Tu so - lus
so - lus, so - lus Al - tis - si - mus, Tu so - lus Do - mi-nus, Tu so - lus Al - ti - si - mus. Tu
am tu so - lus san - ctus, tu so - lus san - - - tus. Tu so - lus


S
ni - am tu so - lus san - ctus, tu so - lus Do - mi-nus. Tu so - lus Al-
A
Do - mi-nus. Tu so-lus, so - lus Al - tis - si - mus, tu so-lus Do - mi-nus. Tu so - lus Al-
T
so - lus san - ctus, so-lus Do - mi - nus. Tu so-lus Do - mi-nus.
B
Do - mi-nus. Tu - so-lus, so - lus Al - tis - si - mus.
6 5 6 6 ♯ ♯5


S
tis - si-mus, Tu so-lus san - ctus, Tu so-lus Do - mi-nus. Tu so-lus Al-tis - si -
A
tis - si-mus, Tu so-lus Do - mi-nus. Tu so-lus, so - lus Al - tis - si-
T
Tu so-lus Al - tis - si-mus, Quo - - - - ni - am tu so-lus san -
B
Quo - - - - ni - am tu so-lus san -
6 6 ♭ 6 ♯6


S
A
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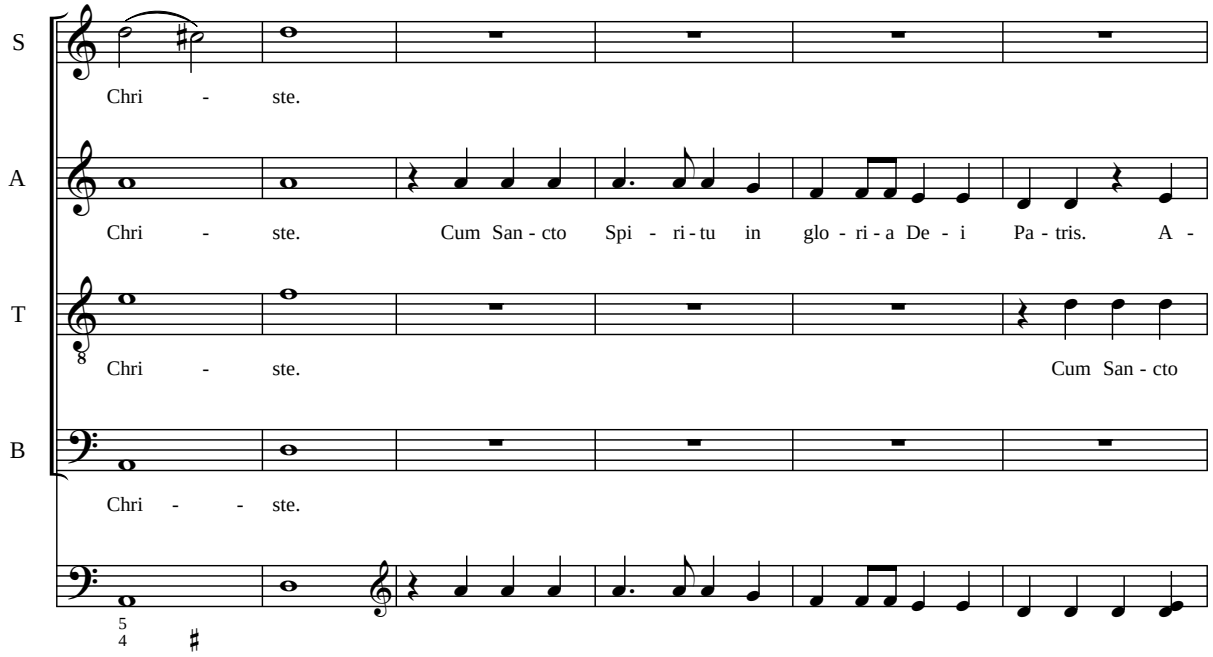
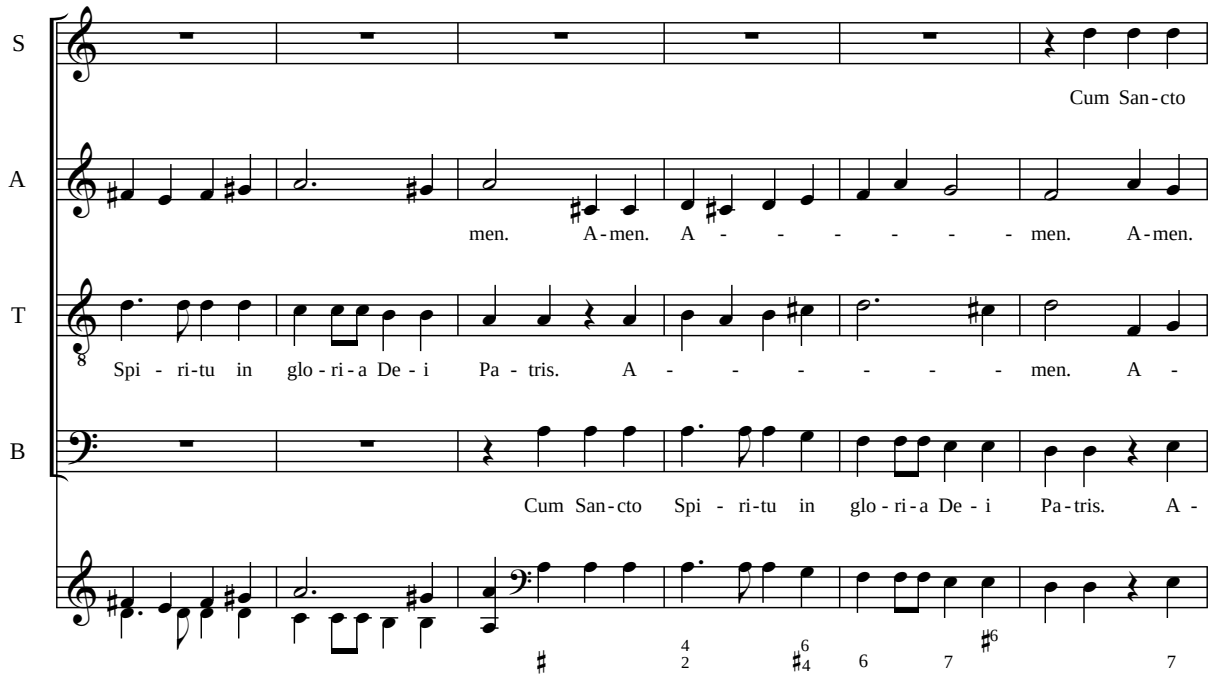
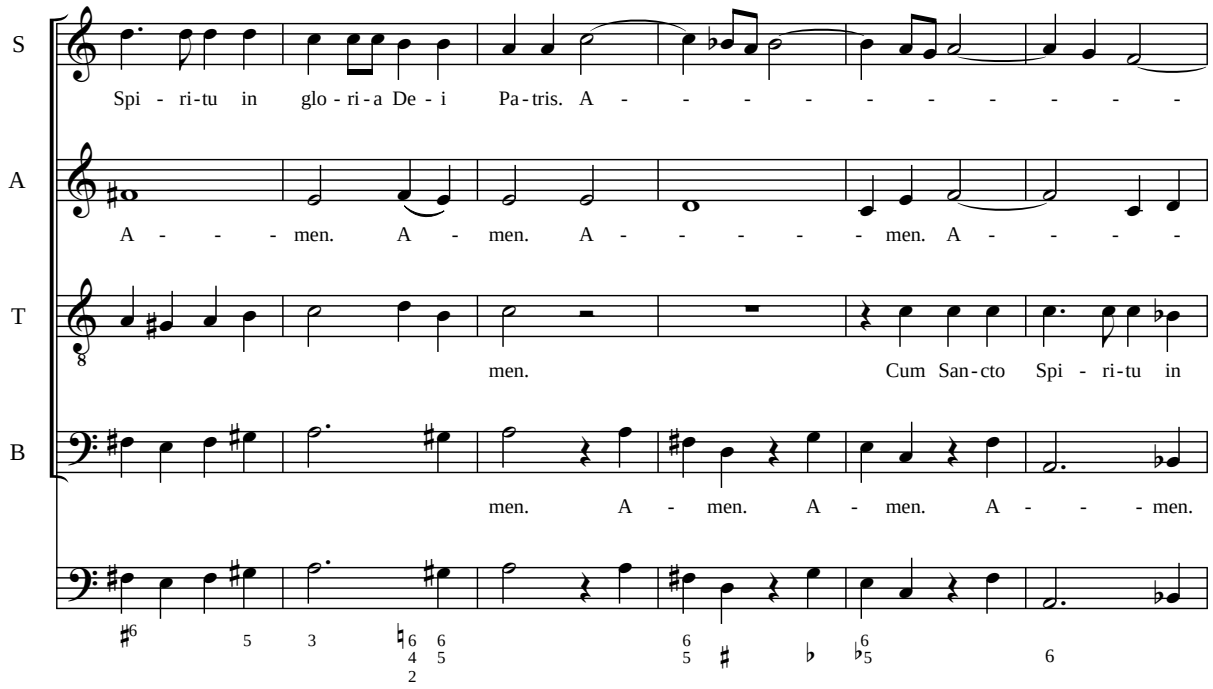
mus, Je - su, Je - su Chri - - ste, Je - su, Je - su
mus, Je - su, Je - su Chri - - te, Je - su Chri - ste, Je - su
ctus. Je - su, Je - su Chri - - ste, Je - su Chri - ste, Je - su
ctus. Je - su, Je - su Chri - - - ste, Je - su, Je - su, Je - su


S
A
T
B
Chri - ste.
Chri - ste. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris. A -
Chri - ste. Cum San - cto
Chri - - ste.


S
A
T
B
Cum San-cto
men. A-men. A - - - - - - men. A-men.
Spi - ri-tu in glo - ri-a De - i Pa - tris. A - - - - - - men. A -
Cum San-cto Spi - ri-tu in glo - ri-a De - i Pa-tris. A -


S
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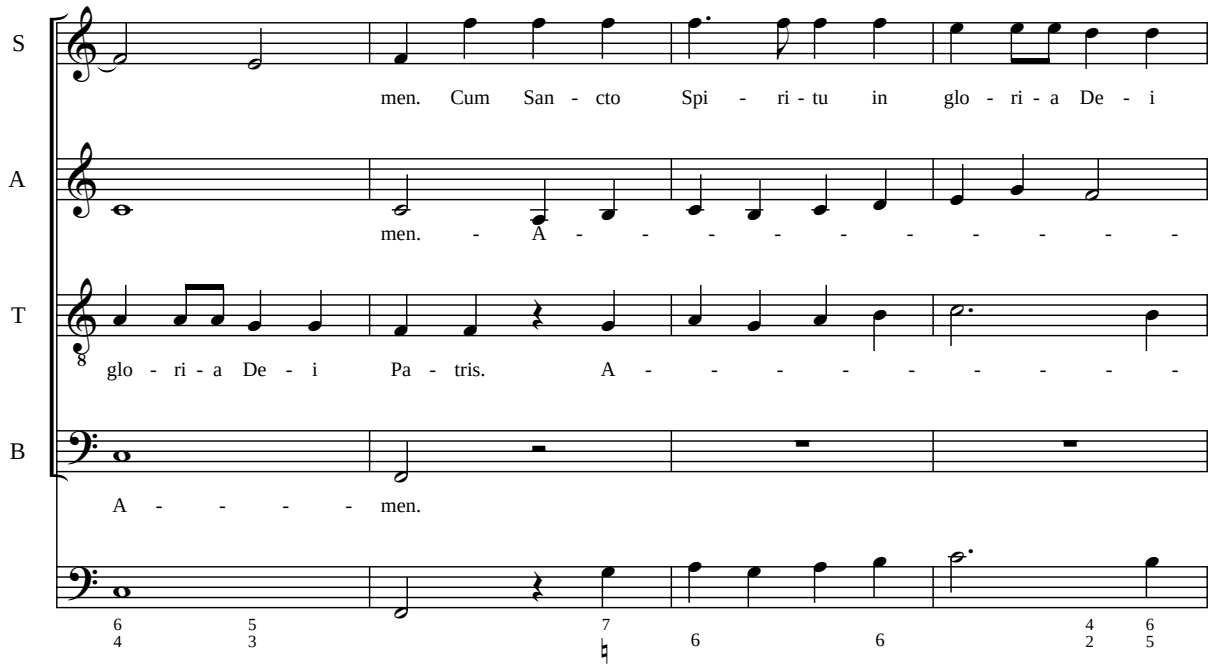
Spi - ri-tu in glo - ri-a De - i Pa-tris. A - - - - - - - - - -
A - - - men. A - men. A - - - - - men. A - - - -
men. Cum San-cto Spi - ri-tu in
men. A - men. A - men. A - - - men.


S
men. Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i
A
men. - A - - - - - - - - - -
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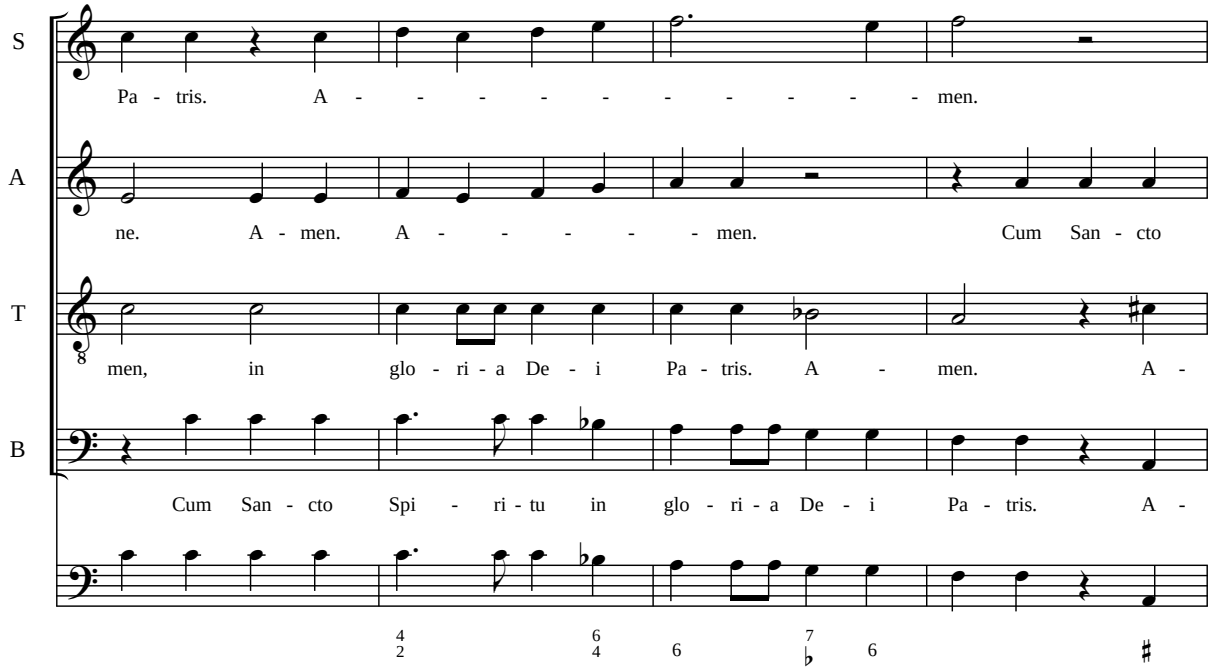
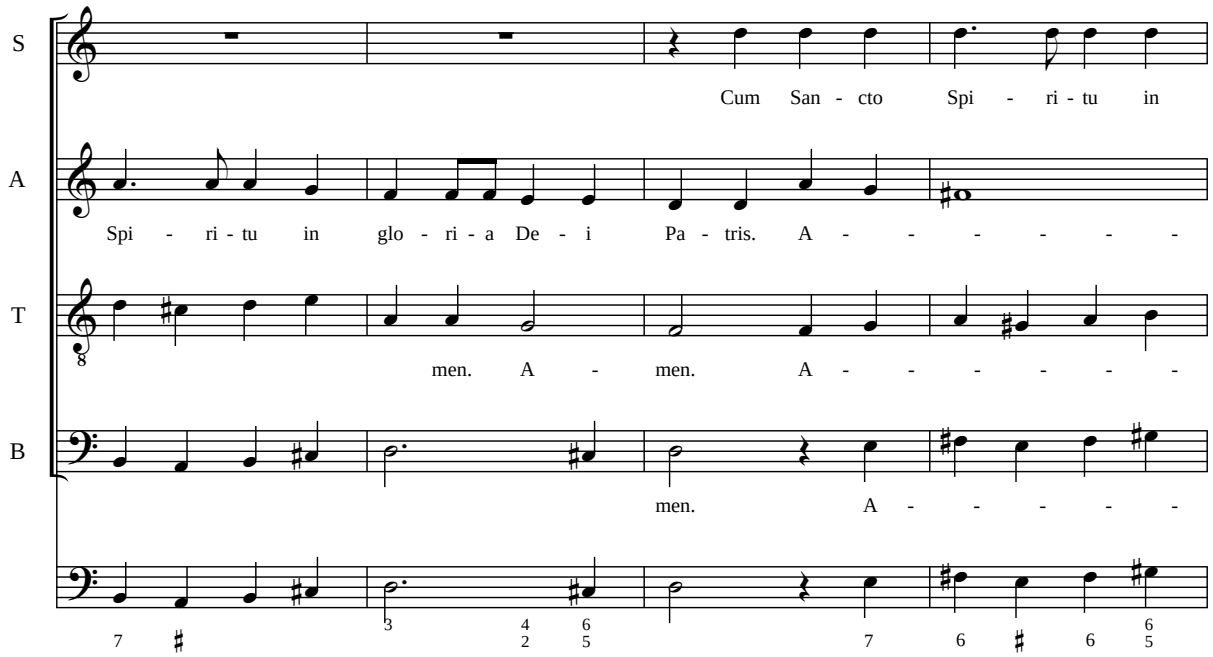
glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris. A - - - - - - - - -
B
A - - - - - men.


S
Pa - tris. A - - - - - - - - - - men.
A
ne. A - men. A - - - - - men. Cum San - cto
T
men, in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris. A - men. A -
B
Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris. A -


S
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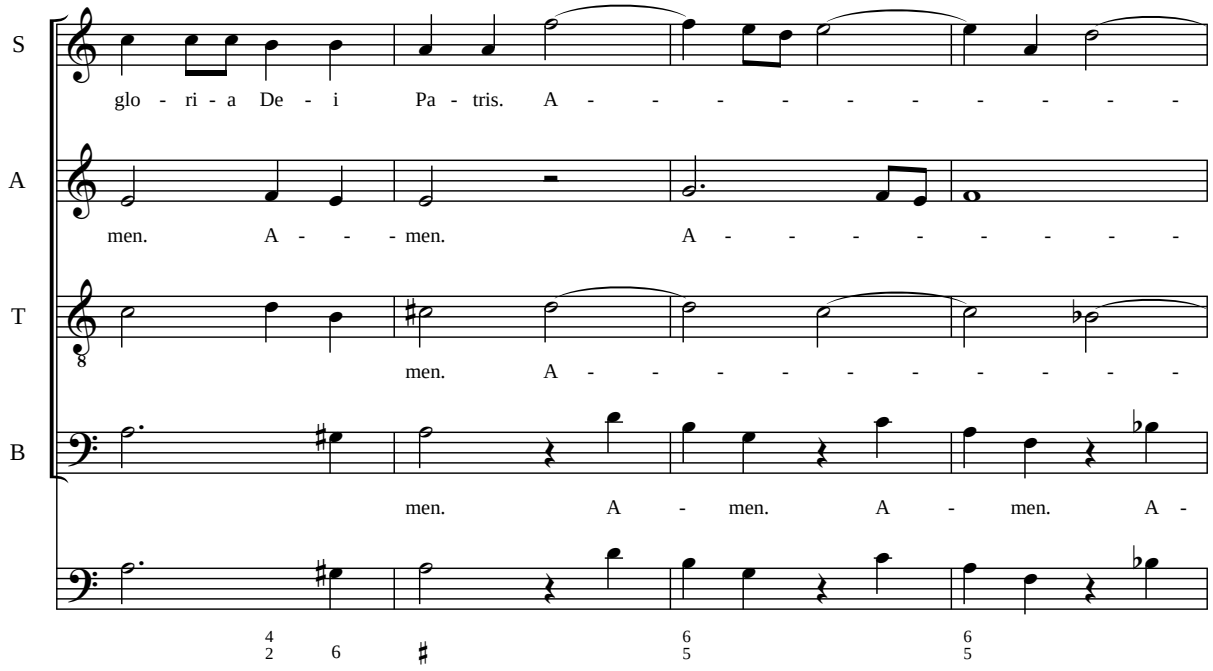
Cum San - cto Spi - ri - tu in
Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris. A - - - - - - -
men. A - men. A - - - - - - -
men. A - - - - - -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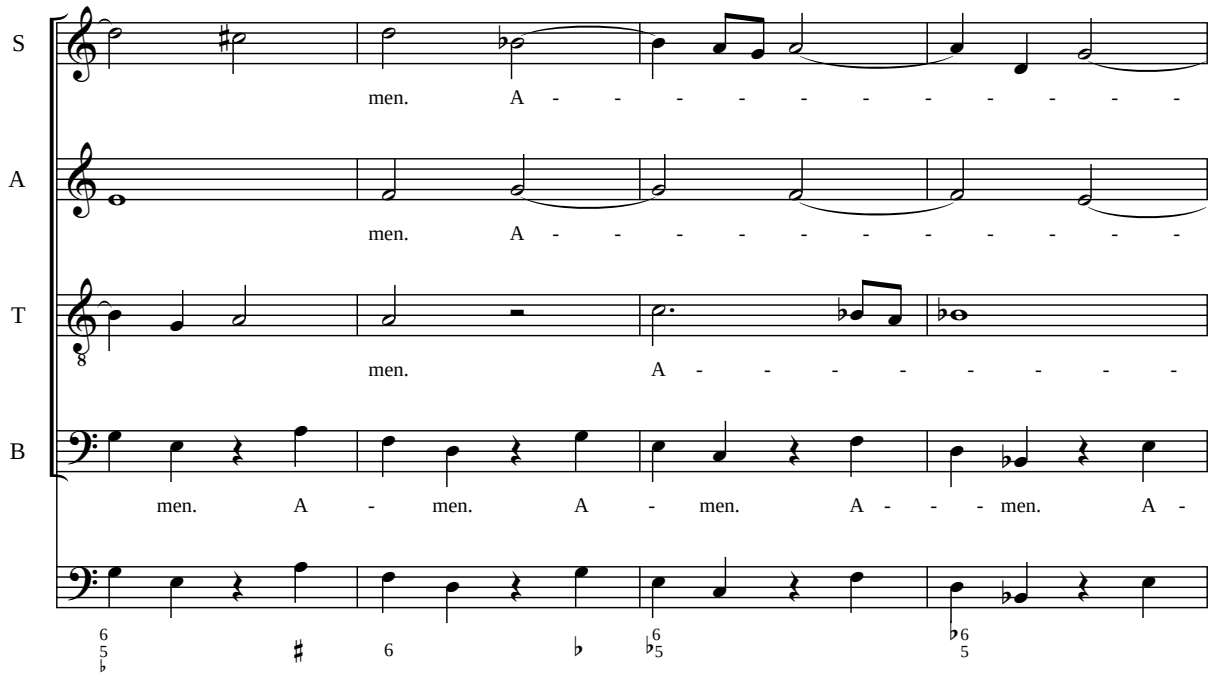
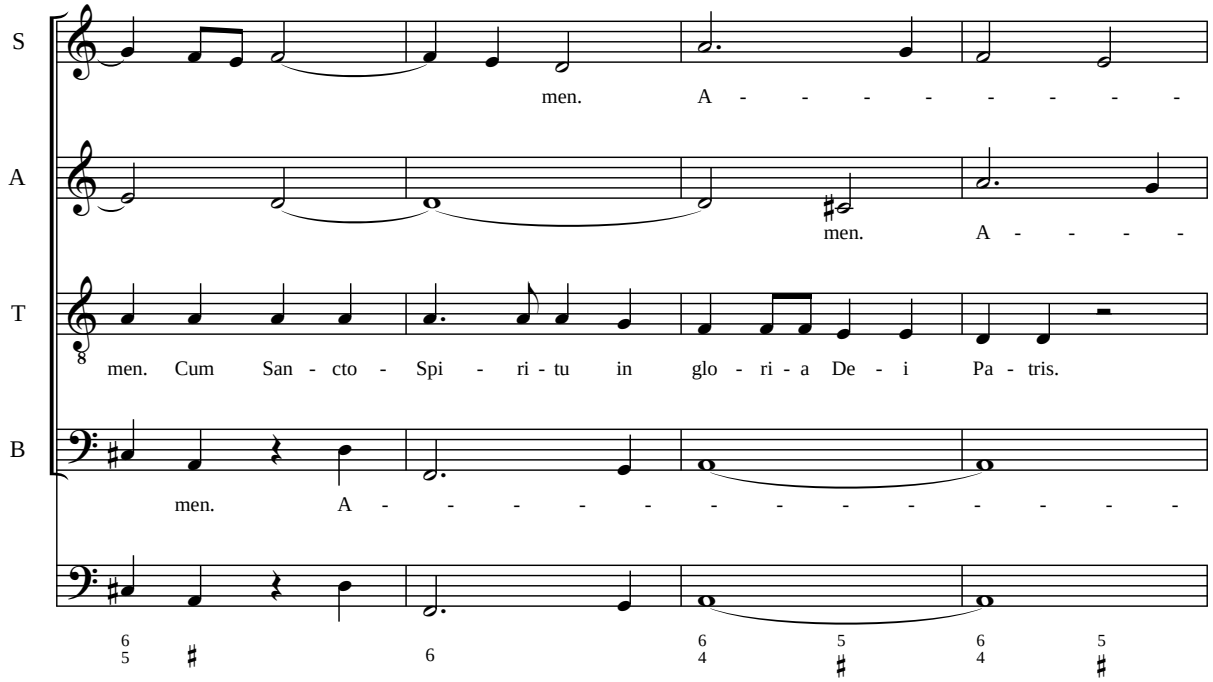
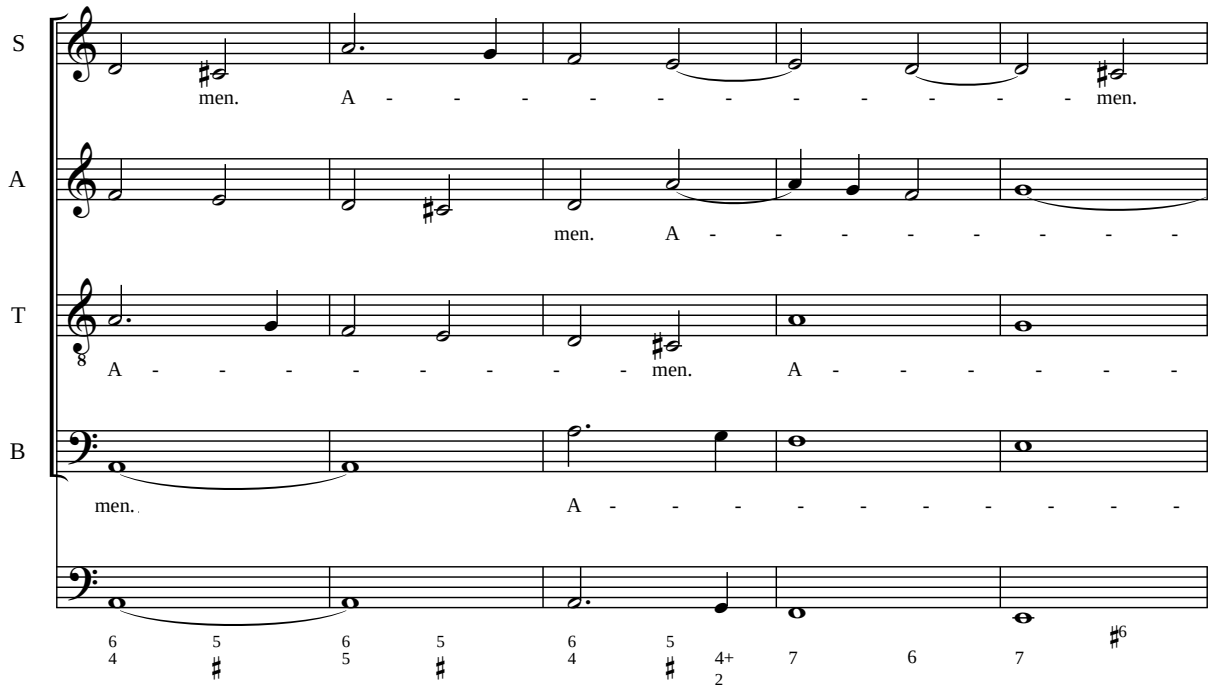
glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris. A - - - - - - - - - - -
men. A - - - men. A - - - - - - - - -
men. A - - - - - - - - - -
men. A - men. A - men. A -


S
men. A - - - - - - - - - - -
A
men. A - - - - - - - - - - -
T
men. A - - - - - - - - -
B
men. A - men. A - men. A - - - men. A -


S
men. A - - - - - - - - -
A
men. A - - - -
T
men. Cum San - cto - Spi - ri - tu in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris.
B
men. A - - - - - - - - - - - - -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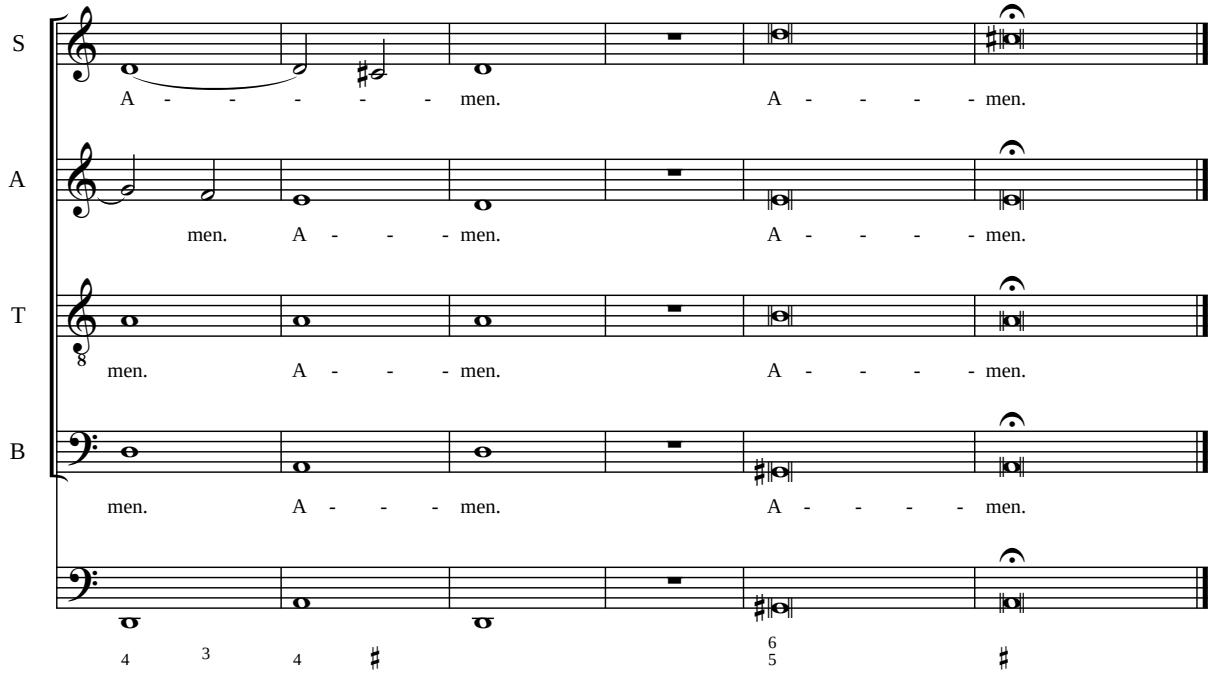
men. A - - - - - - - - - -


S
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men. A - - - men. A - - - - men.
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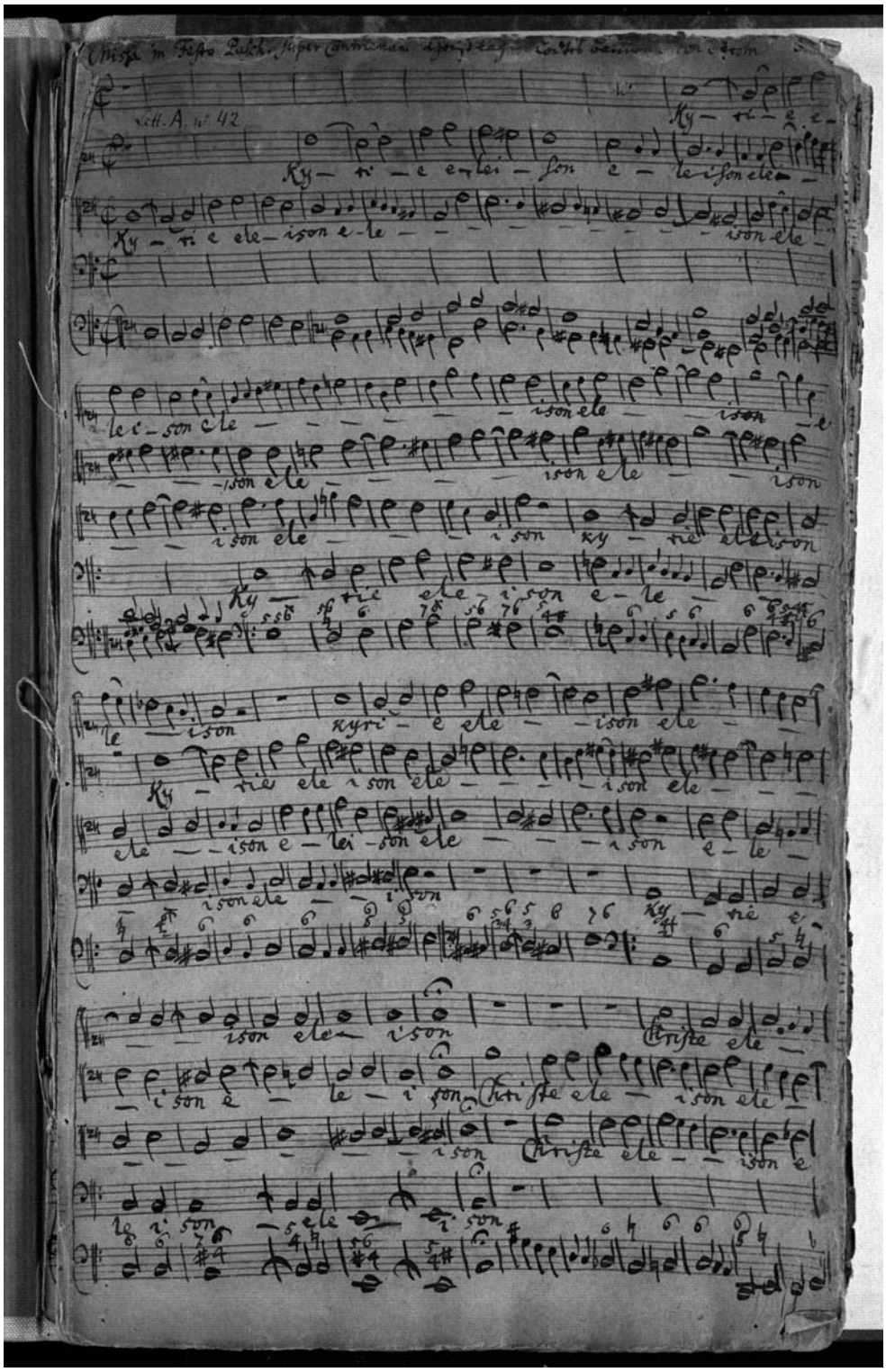
men. A - - - men. A - - - - men.
B
men. A - - - men. A - - - - men.

Appendix B: Facsimile of the First Page of the Score in Manuscript



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Vita

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This manuscript was typed by the author.